

Language attitudes in Quebec: a contemporary perspective

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN QUEBEC: A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2009

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Declaration

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Date

Signature



(on a bus in Montreal, celebrating 30 years of Bill 101)

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Abstract

Language attitudes studies are a central part of both sociolinguistics and social psychology, and Quebec, Canada's only province with a francophone majority, has proved to be one of the most fascinating places for this kind of research. This thesis is an investigation of the attitudes that anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers – both immigrants as well as those who were born in the province – hold towards English, Quebec French and European French.

The first part of the thesis provides the context for the author's own research. It outlines the most relevant events in Quebec history and explains the current social and linguistic situation in the province. Furthermore, it provides an introduction to attitude theory in general and language attitudes in particular, before summarising the most significant previous investigations into language attitudes in Quebec. The second part of the thesis focuses on a language attitudes study conducted amongst 164 Montreal college students in the autumn of 2007. The study made use of two different methodologies: a direct method (questionnaire) and an indirect method (the so-called matched-guise technique). The results of each method of inquiry are first presented separately, before being compared and analysed in the light of the current social and linguistic situation in the province of Quebec.

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1. Introduction

Quebec was established, by the British North America Act in 1867, as one of the original provinces of the Confederation of Canada, and it is now the country's only province with a francophone majority. As such, Quebec has proved to be a fascinating and fruitful place for language attitudes research. This is mainly due to the differential powers of attraction enjoyed by French and English. While French is the mother tongue of most of the population of Quebec (currently 80.1%), it is the first language of only a very small share (4.0%) of the population of the rest of Canada. English, on the other hand, is the mother tongue of the majority (currently 58.0%) of all Canadians. It is spoken by most of the population in nine of the country's ten provinces and in the three territories, and it is also the first language of a significant minority community (currently 7.8%) in the remaining tenth province, that is, in Quebec (Statistics Canada 2007a). Since Quebec anglophones were traditionally a socio-economically advantaged group, for a long time, the attraction of English lay (at least in part) in the fact that it was the language of this minority community within the province itself. While decades of language policy and planning have succeeded in changing this, French in Quebec now faces the challenge of English as the global *lingua franca* of our times, as well as its status as the language of social and economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States (see 1.3). A further factor that adds to the complexity of the situation is the enormous influx of immigrants throughout the 20th and early 21st century – immigrants who speak a wide variety of mother tongues and who evidently have to make choices regarding the language(s) to adopt upon their arrival in the province. Moreover, there is another dimension to the language question in Quebec: French has traditionally been surrounded by a strong monocentric ideology, that is, a view of European French as the only legitimate standard form of the language. This has greatly affected attitudes towards the variety of French that is spoken in Quebec, among Quebecers who were born in the province as well as among immigrants (see 1.3, 3.2 and 3.3).

It is now generally assumed that the fate of the French language in North America will be determined in the city of Montreal (see e.g. Bourhis 2001: 118-119; Levine 1990: 43). As the major urban centre of Quebec, the Montreal metropolitan region has over 3½ million inhabitants (3,635,571, relative to the province's total of 7,435,900; Statistics Canada 2007b/2009a), which makes it the third largest French-speaking metropolis of the world after Paris and Kinshasa. Quebec's other cities are

linguistically quite homogeneous, with the French mother tongue concentration ranging from approximately 80% (in the Gatineau region; Statistics Canada 2007c) to more than 95% of the population (in Quebec City and Trois-Rivières; Statistics Canada 2007d/e). The less urbanised regions of the province have also traditionally been predominantly francophone, with over 90% of the population declaring French as their mother tongue (Bourhis 2001: 118). The Montreal metropolitan region, on the other hand, is home to comparatively large anglophone and allophone communities (12.1% and 21.6% respectively; Statistics Canada 2007b), ‘allophones’ being the term used in the Quebec context to describe those who have neither English nor French as their mother tongue (excluding First Nations). Montreal’s allophone community consists of both immigrants to Quebec and Quebecers of immigrant descent. As Bourhis (2001: 118) points out, immigrant communities concentrate in this region mainly because it offers better economic opportunities than the rest of the province and because it allows them to maintain the ingroup networks that provide the cultural and economic support needed to adjust within the host society. As many as 85.3% of the immigrants who arrived in Quebec between 2001 and 2006 therefore chose to settle in the cosmopolitan Montreal area, where they currently account for approximately 20.4% of the total population (Statistics Canada 2007b). Due to its special status, Montreal has been the location chosen for the majority of studies that have investigated language attitudes in the province of Quebec, including the research that will be presented in this thesis.

In most stratified societies, the status and power positions of different groups are associated with distinctive and relatively stable speech style variation. The dominant group typically promotes its patterns of language use as the model required for social advancement, while use of the subordinate group’s language, dialect or accent (henceforth: language/variety) reduces speakers’ opportunities for success in the society as a whole (Ryan *et al.* 1982: 1). Moreover, the differential power of social groups is usually reflected in individuals’ *attitudes* towards the languages/varieties that are used (see e.g. Romaine 1995: 290). Considering the traditional dominance of the anglophone community and the English language in Montreal, it is thus not surprising that previous studies showed that for a long time, both anglophone and francophone Quebecers had far more positive attitudes towards English than towards French (see 3.1). Further studies uncovered more positive attitudes towards European French than towards Quebec French amongst both anglophones and francophones (see 3.2). However, in the more recent past, few studies seem to have been carried out to

investigate the language attitudes held by anglophone and francophone Quebecers. Furthermore, not much research appears to have been carried out into the attitudes held by the numerous allophones (see 3.3). The lack of research in this area is particularly surprising because in the light of the comparatively low birth rate among Quebec francophones, the language attitudes and the resulting language choices of these allophones are crucial to the determination of the province's linguistic future. Their integration into the French-speaking community has become a strategically important means of stemming the long-term decline of the francophone population in Quebec (see 1.3.2).

Negative or positive attitudes towards a language/variety not only have profound effects on who learns and uses it but they are also of great importance in the domain of language policy and planning.

Any policy for language [...] has to take account of the attitudes of those likely to be affected. In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. (Lewis 1981: 262)

Knowledge about language attitudes is thus fundamental to the formulation of language planning policies, and without such knowledge, it is impossible to predict which policies are likely to be implemented successfully and which ones are destined to fail (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 224). Considering the importance of English in its role as the language of social and economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States, as well as its status as the global *lingua franca* of our times, the future of French in Quebec cannot, by any means, be considered secure. It is thus essential to investigate anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English versus French in order to inform future legislation designed to protect and promote the French language. Moreover, since the promotion of French is inextricably linked with the issue of which particular variety of the language should be advanced, it is of equal significance to research Quebecers' attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French. Finally, as it is now generally accepted that the future of French is unlikely to be determined by language planning alone but that it will also depend on factors such as immigration and integration policies (see 1.3.6), it is of great interest to establish whether there are attitudinal differences between non-immigrant Quebecers and newcomers to the province.

1.1 Research aims

The objective of this thesis is therefore to investigate the current attitudes that anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers of different backgrounds regarding immigration hold towards English, Quebec French (QF) and European French (EF). Based on the findings of previous studies (or the lack thereof), the central research questions are the following:

- Do anglophone and francophone Quebecers still have more positive attitudes towards English than towards French (both QF and EF)?
- Do anglophone and francophone Quebecers still have more positive attitudes towards EF than towards QF?
- What attitudes do allophone Quebecers have towards English versus French (both QF and EF)?
- What attitudes do allophone Quebecers have towards QF versus EF?

Moreover, while the main focus is on the attitudes held by the different mother tongue groups, an additional research question is:

- Are there attitudinal differences between non-immigrants, Quebecers of immigrant descent and actual immigrants to Quebec, regardless of their mother tongue?

It should be noted that the term ‘English’ as used in this thesis refers to the educated, middle-class variety of Canadian English. As Chambers (1999: 92-93) notes, the autonomy of Canadian English as a distinct variety is well established; there is ‘a general awareness among [anglophone] Canadians of their independence from British and US varieties’ and they insist on their ‘linguistic uniqueness’. The vast majority of Canadians, including Quebecers, would thus interpret the term ‘English’ to mean what they consider to be the norm – that is, Canadian English. ‘French’, as a general term, is taken to include both QF as well as EF. Evidently, more than one variety of French exists in each of these settings. In Europe, for example, different varieties of French can be found in France, Belgium and Switzerland, and in each of these countries, as well as in Quebec, the variety of French spoken varies further according to factors such as region and social class. The terms QF and EF as they are employed in this thesis are thus simplifications of a rather complex situation. ‘EF’ is used to stand for the prestigious variety of French that is traditionally spoken in the Île-de-France

region. In previous language attitudes studies, this has been labelled as ‘Parisian French’ (Preston 1963: 4), ‘standard European French’ (d’Anglejan and Tucker 1973: 6) or simply ‘European French’ (Rémillard *et al.* 1973: 384; Bourhis *et al.* 1975: 62; Genesee and Holobow 1989: 23). ‘QF’, on the other hand, here refers to the educated, middle-class variety of French spoken in, for example, Montreal (see Genesee and Holobow 1989: 25). This has variously been referred to as ‘educated’ or ‘cultured’ QF (Lambert *et al.* 1966: 310), ‘a middle class Montreal accent’ (Genesee and Bourhis 1982: 6), ‘*français soigné*’ (Laberge and Chiasson-Lavoie 1971: 123) and ‘*le français académique*’ (Méar-Crine and Leclerc 1976: 158). A number of studies discussed in chapter 3 also deal with what is referred to here as ‘broad QF’, which has previously been called ‘lower-class Canadian French’ (d’Anglejan and Tucker 1973: 19), ‘popular style’ Canadian French (Bourhis *et al.* 1975: 57), ‘*joual*’ (Laberge and Chiasson-Lavoie 1971: 101) and ‘*franco-qubécois*’ (Méar-Crine and Leclerc 1976: 158) (see e.g. Conrick and Regan 2007: 131-157 for a description of the different varieties of Canadian French in general, and QF in particular).

Furthermore, it should be noted that in this thesis, the terms ‘anglophones’, ‘francophones’ and ‘allophones’ are employed in a purely language-based sense, that is, they are used to denote English mother tongue speakers, French mother tongue speakers and speakers of a mother tongue other than English or French, respectively.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

In addition to this chapter, which provides the historical background, the thesis comprises six further chapters. Chapter 2 gives an introduction to attitude theory in general and language attitudes in particular. After providing a brief outline of the two main theoretical frameworks of attitudes research, behaviourism and mentalism, the chapter examines the link between language and social identity, language attitude change, the subjectivity of language attitudes, the individual and the sociostructural factors that are assumed to determine language attitudes, as well as the two main dimensions of language attitudes: status and solidarity. The final section of the chapter familiarises the reader with the three main methods of attitude elicitation, namely content analyses of the societal treatment of languages, direct measures of language attitudes and indirect measures of language attitudes.

The third chapter presents and discusses the most significant previous investigations into language attitudes in Quebec. It summarises the attitudes that anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers have held towards English, QF and EF since the late 1950s, thereby highlighting the gap in research pertaining to allophones. While it is difficult to establish cause and effect relationships when evaluating the impact of language policy and planning on language attitudes, the chapter shows that it is nevertheless insightful to place these previous studies in their historical context when tracing the changes in Quebecers' language attitudes over the past six decades.

Chapter 4 considers the background of the research instruments that were employed in the author's own investigation of language attitudes in Quebec: a questionnaire and a matched-guise experiment. The chapter accounts for the choice of the research methods and explains the development of the survey questionnaire as well as the structure and content of its final version. Subsequently, it examines the materials used for the matched-guise experiment and outlines the methodological procedures followed for this investigation of language attitudes, which was conducted among 164 Montreal college students in the autumn of 2007.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the results obtained by means of the survey questionnaire and the matched-guise experiment respectively. They examine the influence of various factors on the respondents' attitudes towards English, QF and EF, including the effect of their mother tongue, the variety of French they spoke, their immigrant status, as well as the amount of time those respondents who were immigrants had spent in Quebec.

The final chapter discusses the similarities of, and differences between, the results of the questionnaire and those obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment. These findings are then analysed in the light of the current social and linguistic situation in Quebec. The chapter concludes by suggesting directions for further research in the area of language attitudes in this province.

1.3 Quebec: Historical and socio-political background

Before moving on to chapter 2, which provides the theoretical background, the remainder of this introduction traces the most relevant events in Quebec history and explains the current social and linguistic situation in the province. In particular, it

examines status planning efforts, that is, interventions by the provincial government to protect and promote the status of the French language, as well as corpus planning in Quebec, that is, efforts to promote a particular variety of French within the province. The chapter also discusses a third type of language planning, namely acquisition planning. The focus here is on the steps that have been taken in order to increase the power of attraction that French holds amongst non-native speakers, especially in the context of increased immigration and linguistic diversity.

1.3.1 Montreal after the Conquest

Following the Conquest in 1759 and the official cession of New France to the British in 1763, the French language survived mainly in a world of isolated rural parishes that were homogeneously francophone and Catholic, and in which contact with (Protestant) anglophones and the English language was limited. Outside metropolitan Montreal, Quebec's population has almost always been overwhelmingly francophone. Montreal itself, however, has been composed of both French and English speakers ever since the Conquest. While a flood of immigrants from the British Isles created an anglophone majority in the city for a brief period in the mid-19th century, francophones have accounted for more than 60% of Montreal's population in every census since 1871 (Levine 1990: 1). However, while the city has been demographically dominated by French speakers for almost one and a half centuries, prior to the 1960s, its linguistic *character* was undeniably English: 'corporate boardrooms functioned in English, the best neighbourhoods were inhabited by English-speakers, [and] downtown was festooned with billboards and commercial signs in English' (Levine 1990: 7). The central factor that gave Montreal this English 'feel' was the unchallenged anglophone domination of the city's economy. It was primarily the pattern of anglophone structural advantage established after the Conquest – that is, superior access to capital, suppliers and markets – that had enabled English-speaking Montrealers to maintain economic control for so long. Anglophones held a disproportionate number of well-paid jobs in the city's upper echelons and from their Montreal head offices even controlled key sectors of the national Canadian industry and economy (Dickinson and Young 2003: 280-281, 322). Consequently, a substantial income gap separated English and French speakers, with the former earning as much as 51% more than the latter in 1961 (Boulet 1985: 160). Due to this linguistic division of labour, for a long time, anglophones in the city could live and work exclusively in English without ever needing to learn French (Pöll 2001: 106); francophones, on the other hand, were obliged to learn and

use English in order to be able to advance economically (Bernard 2008: 361). Before the 1960s, these linguistic dynamics were rarely contested by Montreal's francophone community. As noted by Levine (1990: 2), '[c]ozy, back-channel political accommodation between Anglophone economic elites and Francophone politicians protected the autonomy of English-language institutions in Montreal and assured that vital English-speaking community interests were respected in Quebec politics'. Heller (1982: 109) describes Quebec's linguistic groups at that time as 'a French rural laboring class and a British urban [...] ruling class, engaged, respectively, in agriculture and business'. Yet linguistic divisions not only separated rural and urban Quebec; they also profoundly shaped every sphere of life in the province's urban centre itself: in Montreal, the 'French and English lived in separate areas, formed different classes, engaged in different economic activities, had different religions, different languages and different schools and other institutions' (Heller 1985: 76). These 'two solitudes', as novelist Hugh MacLennan (1945) dubbed them, were indeed also reflected in the city's linguistic geography. In fact, even today, the traditional division into east-end francophone and west-end anglophone neighbourhoods still dictates to a certain extent the dominant language of interaction (Oakes and Warren 2007: 147-148). As Levine (1990: 15) explains: 'the existence of two solitudes may have helped preserve linguistic peace in Montreal through the 1960s. Ultimately, however, the image of privileged British conquerors controlling Montreal from Westmount and the West Island [...] would help unleash the fierce linguistic conflicts of the 1960s'.

As Montreal developed into Canada's pre-eminent industrial metropolis in the late 19th century, thousands of francophone Quebecers migrated from the poverty of the province's rural regions in search of factory employment in the urban centre (Pöll 2001: 106). This rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of Quebec society made it more and more difficult for the francophones to uphold the traditional ideology of what is known as *la survivance*: 'a Church-based "defensive" strategy of cultural survival based on avoiding contamination by urban, English Montreal and maintaining French-Catholic purity in the homogeneous environments of rural and small-town Quebec' (Levine 1990: 33). More and more francophone workers were now forced to compete in a setting that was dominated by an anglophone ruling-class elite insensitive to the rising aspirations of the French-speaking majority (Bourhis and Lepicq 1993: 347-348). Eventually, this new situation provided the setting for a surge in cultural

activity and a redefinition of francophone identity in an urban context, thereby making cultural survival predicated on the rural isolation of francophone Quebecers an anachronism. Levine (1990: 41-45) identifies these cultural and demographic changes in the francophone community as one of the three most important factors that set the stage for the momentous changes that were to take place in Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s. The second factor he cites is the changing social structure of the francophone community. By the late 1950s, a 'new middle class' of francophone technocrats, bureaucrats and social scientists had emerged in Montreal and found itself increasingly frustrated by the conditions in the city, considering linguistic assimilation an unacceptable price to pay for economic mobility. This new middle class thus desired to reconcile francophone identity with the realities of a modern, urban society, consequently rejecting traditional Catholic values in favour of 'secularism and statism', and embracing a nationalism that helped set off the language conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s (Dickinson and Young 2003: 305). The final factor that is assumed to have set the stage for the linguistic confrontations of the subsequent decades is that, between 1930 and 1960, Toronto came to replace Montreal as Canada's national economic centre – a development which removed important structural support to anglophone power in Montreal and gave impetus to francophone efforts to establish the primacy of French in the city. By the late 1950s, while the English character of Montreal remained intact, the city began to experience the first heralds of the linguistic conflicts that would soon dominate its life. A number of francophone groups, for example, organised efforts to francise the external face of Montreal and fringe groups were formed that called for an independent, French-speaking Quebec (see e.g. Behiels 1985: 298). However, these developments were too sporadic and the francophone community had yet to develop a systematic strategy for confronting the internal dynamics of anglophone dominance that many were beginning to view as a threat to the French language and culture.

Alongside urbanisation, a further development that significantly shaped Quebec, and especially Montreal society in the 20th century, was migration. In two great waves – between 1901 and 1931, and 1945 and 1961 – Montreal became a multiethnic city. During the first decades of the century, these immigrants were primarily Italians and Eastern European Jews who moved to Quebec to escape economic and political turmoil (Larivée 2003: 167). In the post-war period, many of the newcomers were from Southern Europe, the Slavic countries and the United States, as well as Jews from

various European countries (Dickinson and Young 2003: 271, 311). As mentioned above, these immigrant communities have always tended to concentrate in the Montreal metropolitan region. Some of the newcomers had either English or French as their mother tongue, but many of them were allophones – and the language choices that these allophone immigrants made upon their arrival evidently had a significant effect on Montreal’s linguistic demography. The vast majority of allophones (as well as some French-origin migrants and Montrealers) adopted English as their new language, while only very few allophones (and almost no British/Irish-origin migrants and Montrealers) chose French (St-Laurent 2008: 6; see also 3.3.1).¹ Up until the 1960s, Montreal’s francophone community thus remained essentially composed of Quebecers of French descent and its only sources of growth were natural increase and the migration of rural francophones. The anglophone community, on the other hand, quickly turned into a multicultural and multiethnic one whose strength was bolstered significantly by the allophone immigrants’ language choices. Evidently, this development posed a threat to the francophone community (Breton 1988: 95) and the issue of immigrant anglicisation therefore became one of the focal points of language conflict in the subsequent decades.

With respect to the particular variety of French spoken in Quebec, Pöll (2005: 161) notes that under the French regime, that is, from 1608 until 1763, ‘the language question, as it were, was not an issue’.² In fact, observers appear to have perceived French as it was spoken in the province at that time very positively and considered it to be exceedingly pure – which is assumed to be a consequence of the relative uniformity of the manner in which the first settlers spoke. This uniformity is now generally assumed to have been due to the fact that the settlers either originated from areas of France where *françoys*, as it was then called, was already widely spoken, or that they had been forced to learn it as a *lingua franca* during the (often lengthy) periods of time they had spent in ports such as Nantes and La Rochelle before their departure to Quebec (see e.g. Asselin and McLaughlin 1994; Poirier 1994; Bouchard 2002). (At the time, those Frenchmen who did not speak *françoys* used *patois*, that is, other regional

¹ Some of the Irish settlers, but mainly those who arrived in the 19th century, constitute an exception of this pattern. As Gallagher (1936) notes, as a result of the infectious diseases that were carried on many immigrant ships, countless Irishmen who left for Quebec during the Great Irish Famine (that is, in 1847) either died on the voyage or shortly after their arrival. Many orphaned Irish children were subsequently taken in by francophone families, to which they then assimilated linguistically. Furthermore, it appears that due to their shared religious background, intermarriage between Irish Catholics and francophone Quebecers was not uncommon and at times resulted in the linguistic assimilation of the Irish partner.

² Unless mentioned otherwise, all translations in this thesis are those of the author.

dialects; Bourhis 1997: 309) The Conquest, however, marked a turning point in the history of the French language itself as well as in the perception of its use in Quebec. The province became a British possession and was cut off from France, and as a consequence of this rupture, the varieties of French spoken in the two locations began to differ significantly from each other (Lockerbie 2005: 17-18). Not only was QF removed from the linguistic effects of the French Revolution, but the return to France of many members of the French elite also resulted in ‘a greater emphasis on the language of the masses which, as well as triggering the revival of many regionalisms, also opened the door to an influx of anglicisms’ (Oakes 2008: 369). By the middle of the 19th century, francophone Quebecers realised with a certain stupefaction that over the years, Anglo-Canadians and Americans had come to regard the way they spoke not as French but as a *patois* incomprehensible to foreigners and Frenchmen alike (Bouchard 2002: 95-96). This so-called ‘myth of French Canadian Patois’ led to calls for the modernisation of QF and its realignment with EF. These demands were counterbalanced by a discourse insisting on the greater purity and authenticity of QF due to its greater similarity to the classical French of 17th century France – an argument that can ‘easily be recognised as a – conscious or unconscious – strategy to remediate [the Quebecers’] damaged social identity’ (Pöll 2005: 163). Regardless of the purity and authenticity of QF, in the late 19th century, first the urban *bourgeoisie* and then the public at large began to be afflicted by a deep sense of linguistic insecurity (Bouchard 2002: 98). Consequently, concern arose that francophone Quebecers would opt for assimilation to English rather than choosing to live with a stigmatised identity, causing commentators to try and counteract the myth of French Canadian Patois by promoting more positive attitudes towards QF (Bouchard 2002: 100-104). The Société du parler français du Canada (Society of the French Language in Canada), founded in 1902, provided institutional support for much scientific activity with the aim of promoting QF. However, the efforts of the Société and others to improve the prestige of QF were not sufficient to alleviate the sentiment of inferiority among francophone Quebecers. Their ‘self-flagellation’ continued and, in fact, grew worse (Bouchard 2002 : 221), reaching its peak during the period from 1940 until 1960, when attitudes towards QF had never been as negative.

1.3.2 Quebec's Quiet Revolution and the Saint-Léonard crisis

Before the 1960s, there had been no serious and sustained political debate about language rights in the city – but by the end of the decade, the language question was to become the main issue to dominate Montreal's social and political life. The turbulence began with what has come to be known as the 'Quiet Revolution'. Based on the notion of *rattrapage*, that is, the modernisation of Quebec's education, energy, transport, etc. (Bourhis 1994a: 21-22), the Quiet Revolution was 'an attempt to accelerate the socio-economic development of French Canadian society to bring it into line with that of the rest of Canada' (d'Anglejan 1984: 29). The central theme of the Quiet Revolution was the aim of Quebec francophones to become *maîtres chez nous* ('masters in our own house'; see e.g. Rocher 2008: 353) – an aim that inevitably politicised the issue of language since the francophones could never be masters in their own house while Montreal's powerful anglophone elite imparted such a distinctly English character to the city. The logic of the Quiet Revolution thus inevitably led to a movement to dislodge the anglophone elite and 'reconquer' Montreal as the French-speaking metropolis of Quebec (Levine 1990: 40). One of the most important changes of these years was the secularisation of Quebec society during the administration of Premier Jean Lesage (1960–1966) (Robert 2008: 301-302). Also during this period, nationalist sentiment grew and led to a greater sense among Quebecers of their distinctiveness as a society – the francophone community underwent a shift from a minority to a majority perception of itself (Breton 1988: 94). Linguistically, this manifested itself in the francophones' abandonment of the term previously applied to them, '*Canadiens français*' ('French Canadians'), in favour of the new term '*Québécois*' ('Quebecers'), which firmly rooted their sense of identity within their province (Conrick and Regan 2007: 30). In the climate of Quiet Revolution nationalism, the first calls for a provincial language policy to promote French 'unilingualism' (a term coined in Quebec in the late 1950s, signifying opposition to bilingualism since the latter effectively would have meant the continued use of English) were made by separatist groups such as the Front de libération du Québec (Front for the Liberation of Quebec) (Larose 2005: 118-119). However, until the mid-1960s, such groups remained on the fringe of Quebec politics and language legislation did not become a major political issue. Nevertheless, as Levine (1990: 52-53) notes, the Lesage administration did become tentatively involved in language policy and planning when in 1961, it established the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. With the mandate of supporting the development of the French language and culture in Quebec, the Ministry included the

so-called Office de la langue française (French Language Office), the responsibility of which was to oversee the promotion, purification and development of French in the province. This institution played, and continues to play, an important role in Quebec society (see below and 1.3.4).

The issue that turned language policy into the central concern of Quebec politics in the mid-1960s was the anglicisation of allophone immigrant children via the medium of English-speaking public schools. In Montreal, separate networks of English- and French-language schools had existed since the 1840s without unduly upsetting the city's linguistic equilibrium (Levine 1990: 4). However, this changed when the majority of the immigrants that arrived in the city in the 20th century, and especially after the war, decided to send their children to English-medium schools (see e.g. Robert 2008: 304). The reasons for the parents' decision were clearly of a practical, economic nature: Montreal anglophones were a powerful minority and as a result, English was the language of social and economic advancement in the city (Carpentier 2004: 1; see also 1.3.1 and 3.3.1). By the mid-1960s, the anglicisation of the allophone school children seemed to foreshadow a Montreal in which francophones would ultimately become a demographic minority. Particularly in the light of the precipitous plunge that the francophone birth rate had taken as a result of the above-mentioned urbanisation and industrialisation, growing segments of the francophone community feared that the enrolment of allophone children in English-language schools posed an imminent threat to their cultural and linguistic security (Schmid 2001: 105). Without a sustained francophone birth rate, the integration of allophone immigrants into the francophone linguistic community (rather than the anglophone one) had become strategically important as a means of stemming the long-term decline of the francophone population in Quebec (Bourhis 2001: 106). By the autumn of 1967, francophone nationalists started calling for new school policies that would compel immigrants to send their children to French-medium schools. As Levine (1990: 4) points out, it was no accident that the issue that brought Montreal's linguistic groups to the streets in the 1960s and 1970s was the language of instruction:

[M]ore than any other public institution, schools are the central battle-ground for conflicts between urban ethnic and linguistic groups. Schools, of course, are institutions crucial to the vitality of linguistic communities. It is there that languages are taught, cultural values are transmitted from one generation to another, newcomers are integrated into a linguistic community, and numerous group members find employment as teachers and administrators. Language policy in education is integrally connected to patterns of language maintenance, language shift, and ultimately to group survival.

The event that turned the language of instruction into a major political issue was when in November 1967, the francophone-controlled school board of the Montreal suburb of Saint-Léonard declared French the sole language of instruction for allophone children in the community (Dickinson and Young 2003: 323-324). The outraged allophone parents reacted by threatening to withhold school taxes, keeping their children out of school and taking the school board to court. Taken aback by this fervency, the commissioners decided to delay the implementation of their new policy of French unilingualism – a decision which, in turn, caused the francophone parents to protest. Over the subsequent months, both language groups continued to mobilise, and tensions mounted. What ensued were protest marches, a student occupation of one of the local schools, bomb threats and concerns about street violence, not just in Saint-Léonard but also in Montreal in general. Other events that took place in Montreal in the late 1960s also contributed to a sense of crisis and illustrate the profound upheaval that was taking place: there were bloody demonstrations by militant separatists, bombings by the Front de libération du Québec of identifiably anglophone targets such as the Board of Trade and the Stock Exchange, as well as urban guerrilla action that blocked the airport and traffic in whole areas of the city (see e.g. Robert 2008: 305-309). The atmosphere of those years fuelled the growth of Quebec independence activity and resulted, in 1968, in the formation of the René Lévesque-led Parti québécois (Quebec Party), a party that advocated the creation of a sovereign Quebec state ‘as a means of regaining control of [the Quebecers’] collective destiny and preserving the fate of the last viable enclave of French language and culture on the continent’ (Bourhis and Marshall 1999: 255).

In December 1968, Premier Jean-Jacques Bertrand (1966-1970) reacted to the violence in the streets of Montreal by appointing the Commission d’enquête sur la situation de la langue française et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec (Commission of Inquiry on the Situation of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec), also known as the Gendron Commission (named after its chair Jean-Denis Gendron). The mandate

of the Commission was to study the situation and present recommendations for a comprehensive language policy for the province. (It would table its final report in 1972; see 1.3.4.) Also in December 1968, Bertrand presented Bill 85, which sought a compromise between francophones and non-francophones by declaring French to be Quebec's 'priority language' while preserving individual linguistic freedom in education.³ However, facing unexpectedly strong francophone opposition, Bertrand soon withdrew the bill (Gémar 2008: 314). Lack of action on the part of the government caused the linguistic crisis in Saint-Léonard to fester even further and eventually, in October 1969, Bertrand once again attempted to solve the problem of language rights in education when he presented Bill 63, the so-called 'Act to promote the French language in Quebec'. Despite its name, the document upheld free choice of language for instruction. Thousands of Montrealers marched in demonstrations and rallies to protest against the bill; nevertheless, it was passed by the government and became a law in November 1969 (Gémar 2008: 315). Yet while the immediate crisis of Saint-Léonard was over and allophone parents could once again send their children to English-medium schools, Bill 63 did not regulate Montreal's linguistic conflicts in the long term. In the early 1970s, nationalists would take advantage of the document's overwhelming unpopularity in the francophone community to steadily build support not only to repeal Bill 63, but also to establish a more radical language policy to promote the status of the French language (Levine 1990: 82).

Throughout the turmoil of the 1960s, the debate about the variety of French spoken in Quebec remained active and impassioned. During the Quiet Revolution, the myth of French Canadian Patois (see 1.3.1) was replaced by debates about *joual*, a distortion of the word '*cheval*' ('horse') that was taken from the expression '*parler cheval*' ('to speak badly') (Oakes and Warren 2007: 111). While, at the time, many equated the term with QF in its entirety (Cajolet-Laganière and Martel 1995: 67-68), *joual* was, in fact, little more than a (strongly anglicised) variety of urban, working-class QF – a variety that was used particularly in Montreal and that, as a matter of fact, was not dissimilar to many working-class varieties used in France and other French-speaking countries (Conrick and Regan 2007: 144). Time and again, in the debate about *joual*, reference was made to two key themes: degeneration and shame. *Joual* was considered to symbolise the degeneration not only of QF but also of the entire Quebec nation, and

³ All bills have a name and, once adopted, become laws with the same name. However, in English, most of the language laws in Quebec are commonly known by their bill number, which is how they will be referred to in this thesis.

many Quebecers were therefore ashamed of the language they spoke and of what they had become (Bouchard 2002: 220; 222). ‘Correct French, “pure” French, became something to which every citizen should aspire as a condition of personal and national self-respect: *Bien parler, c’est se respecter*’ (‘speaking well means respecting oneself’) (Lockerbie 2005: 19). The negative general opinion held of QF is evidenced, *inter alia*, by the report of the Commission royale d’enquête sur l’enseignement dans la province de Québec (Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec), more commonly known as the Parent Commission (after its president Monseigneur Alphonse-Marie Parent). The mandate of this Commission had been to provide recommendations for the reorganisation of schooling in Montreal, and its report (which was published in five volumes between 1963 and 1966) had a considerable impact since it severely attacked the poor quality of French in schools, thereby focusing the attention of the public on the language of education (Gémar 2008: 310). Consequently, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, both the quality of French teaching and the very nature of the school system were questioned by many (Bourhis and Lépique 1993: 367). Further evidence of the general negative opinion held of QF during the 1960s is the famous declaration of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who was then the Canadian federal Minister of Justice, that francophone Quebecers should not be granted any further rights as long as they continued to speak a ‘lousy French’ (Bouchard 2002: 265). Evidently, the public discourse at the time did nothing to alleviate francophone Quebecers’ sense of inferiority compared to speakers of EF. The early policy of the Office de la langue française is considered to be another significant factor that contributed to the linguistic insecurity of Quebec francophones (Bourhis *et al.* 1975: 56; see also Lockerbie 2005: 23-24). As mentioned above, the Office had originally been established in 1961 with the mandate of overseeing the revalorisation, purification and standardisation of QF.⁴ The first bulletins of the Office clearly reflected the desire to align QF with the normative demands of standard EF (see e.g. Office de la langue française 1965). These bulletins, which were regularly disseminated to educational institutions, businesses and the mass media, declared the intolerability of grammatical and morphological deviations from EF and demanded that lexical and phonetic particularities be reduced to their absolute minimum. ‘Appropriate’ standard EF vocabulary lists were provided by the Office to replace many canadianisms and anglicisms (d’Anglejan and Tucker 1973: 3). These corrective

⁴ However, since the implementation of Bill 101 in 1977, the efforts of the Office have mainly concerned the field of status planning rather than corpus planning (see 1.3.4).

measures are assumed to have affected francophone Quebecers very strongly. A further factor that helps explain the linguistic insecurity among Quebec francophones is the fact that successive French governments had a policy of establishing standard EF as the prestige norm across all parts of *la francophonie* where France still exerted an influence. To this day, France has a policy of exporting this variety (for example, via Alliance Française schools) ‘as part of an overall policy designed to maintain the cultural and economic prestige of France across the world’ – a policy which appears to have resulted in a feeling that standard EF is inherently superior to QF (Bourhis and Lepicq 1993: 367).

The denigration of QF is evidence of the strong tradition of viewing French as a monocentric as opposed to a pluricentric language (Lüdi 1992: 149). The term ‘pluricentric’ describes languages ‘with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms’ (Clyne 1992: 1). Examples of pluricentric languages are, for instance, English and Spanish. Monocentric languages, on the other hand, are ones that are considered to be homogeneous enough to have only one norm. As Lüdi (1992: 154; see also Bourhis 1997: 306) points out, the perception of French as a monocentric language is a consequence of the social history of the language in France, and particularly the notion of ‘*le bon usage*’ (‘correct usage’). Defined by Claude Favre de Vaugelas in the 17th century as the language of the most sensible part of the court, that is, the elite in Paris, *le bon usage* was conceived in stark contrast to the many other ‘bad usages’ – that is, any social and regional deviations from the norm (see e.g. Bourhis 1997: 307-308). Throughout the 18th century, the myth of French as a classical language blessed with unique virtues such as clarity, purity, richness and elegance was widely accepted, and propagated throughout Europe by the French ruling elite. To this elite, changing aspects of vocabulary and grammar as well as the adoption of foreign borrowings were considered to lead inevitably to the corruption of the French language. Furthermore, it was felt that only the Île-de-France dialect could be considered as ‘the vehicle of French civilization’; all other forms of French spoken in France were dismissed as ‘degenerate patois’ (Bourhis 1997: 308). This ideology of *le bon usage* persists to this day and is a symbol of the monocentric view of the French language (Lüdi 1992: 152). Yet, as Martel and Cajolet-Laganière (1996: 73) note, *le bon usage* is not so much a linguistic norm as a social one. In fact, *le bon usage* is somewhat of a myth since it is extremely doubtful that this ‘correct usage’ actually corresponds to an existing

sociolect. Lüdi (1992: 155) explains that ‘[i]nstead, there is plenty of evidence that we are facing an illusion here, an imaginary object of utopian discourse. However, this phantasm belongs to the linguistic representations of most speakers of French, even of those who do not know it’.

1.3.3 The October crisis and the polarisation of Montreal

While the 1960s had ended tumultuously, few Montrealers were prepared for the extent of the linguistic unrest with which the city began the 1970s, and which polarised the language communities in a way that seriously threatened social peace. The first linguistically divisive event was the campaign leading up to the provincial elections in April 1970, in which the opponents of the Parti québécois (henceforth: PQ) used every tactic imaginable to dissuade francophones from voting for its leader René Lévesque. Despite aggressive attempts to discredit them, the PQ did well in the elections and finished second behind Robert Bourassa’s Parti libéral du Québec (Liberal Party of Quebec, henceforth: PLQ). As Levine (1990: 88) explains, ‘[t]he April vote reflected a linguistically polarized Montreal. The Island’s electorate seemed divided into two hostile camps: a party of Anglophones, Allophones, and federalist Francophones (the PLQ) and a growing party of Francophone nationalists (the PQ)’. Following the elections, militant separatists resumed their bombings of Westmount residences and other identifiably anglophone targets in Montreal. In the autumn of 1970, revolutionary activity culminated in what is now referred to as the ‘October Crisis’, when the Front de liberation du Québec (see 1.3.2) kidnapped Great Britain’s trade commissioner, James Cross, and a few days later abducted and eventually murdered the provincial minister of immigration and labour, Pierre Laporte (Dickinson and Young 2003: 321-322). The federal government under Pierre Elliott Trudeau reacted strongly: Quebec’s PLQ government, which had retreated into heavily guarded quarters, was subordinated. The War Measures Act was invoked, suspending civil liberties and allowing the army to imprison hundreds of Quebec’s intellectuals, political activists and labour leaders who were suspected to be sympathisers of the Front de liberation du Québec. Eventually, Cross was released and the Front de liberation du Québec broken up. For a period, these events were effectively exploited by anti-separatists to discredit the PQ and francophone nationalism. However, the reality is that the October crisis was an isolated event: ‘the FLQ [Front de liberation du Québec] was a fringe group and the rise of the PQ in the 1970s would provide a non-

violent, democratic outlet for growing Francophone nationalist sentiment' (Levine 1990: 90).

During the subsequent years, francophone groups continued to mobilise on the language question – yet during his first years in power, Premier Robert Bourassa (1970-1976) used the Gendron Commission (see 1.3.2) as a reason not to implement any new language legislation: before acting on matters, he wanted to await the Commission's report. When it was finally presented in December 1972, the report showed that despite its demographic superiority, French in Montreal was still functioning more like a minority language than a majority one. Thus, for example, in cross-cultural encounters, francophones were much more likely to use English than anglophones were likely to use French; English was the medium of communication in most work settings, and the dominant position of the language in the Montreal economy constituted the main reason immigrants chose to send their children to English-medium schools. The Commission recommended that French should be made 'the common language of Quebecers, that is, the language which, known by all, can serve as an instrument of communication in contact situations between French-speaking and non-French-speaking Quebecers' (Gouvernement du Québec 1972: 154). However, the Commission did not make suggestions regarding any kind of francisation programme. Furthermore, the Gendron report recommended a buffer period of a number of years before a repeal of Bill 63 should be considered so that the document's impact could be gauged fully. Immigrants, so the Commission suggested, should be induced rather than coerced into French-medium schools through special programmes such as francophone nursery schools and summer camps. Unsurprisingly, Montreal's anglophone and allophone communities reacted positively to these temperate recommendations while many francophones considered them cowardly and insufficient. Eventually, it became apparent from the state of francophone public opinion that the Commission's recommendations were indeed inadequate and that modifications to Bill 63 were unavoidable. Nevertheless, it can be said that the report of the Gendron Commission was the first substantial document to establish the foundations of serious language policy and planning on the part of the Quebec government (Gémar 2008: 313).

In his attempt to find a middle ground between nationalist francophones on the one hand and his anglophone voters on the other hand, Premier Bourassa proceeded to pass

legislation that satisfied no one. In July 1974, he introduced Bill 22, a document that declared French to be ‘a national heritage which the state is duty bound to preserve’ (*Official Languages Act* 1974, preamble) and that made it the only official language in the province. Nevertheless, ‘Bill 22 was emphatically *not* a French unilingualist policy: although it mandated a form of French priority in most areas, English-language rights were explicitly written into the bill’ (Levine 1990: 99, emphasis in original text). *Inter alia*, Bill 22 included measures in the areas of business and education. It stipulated that companies would have to prove their francisation if they wanted to receive any subsidies or benefits from the government, yet the exact provisions were ambiguous and no meaningful enactment mechanisms were created. Moreover, the efficacy of the bill was limited inherently by its reliance on incentives as opposed to coercion to promote the position of French in the province’s economy. The most controversial part of Bill 22, however, was that concerning education: access to English-medium schools was limited to those children who could prove (by means of linguistic aptitude tests administered by the school boards) that they possessed sufficient knowledge of English. As Conrick and Regan (2007: 58) note:

[i]n some senses, Bill 22 left opposing groups equally dissatisfied, at both extremes of the debate. The fact that their children’s English had to be tested before they could attend English schools enraged anglophone parents. For the more nationalist among [the francophone] Quebecers, the bill did not go far enough in the direction of a monolingual Quebec.

Continuing agitation over Bill 22 showed clearly that Bourassa had not solved the problem of language and education in Montreal, and in the November 1976 provincial elections, the voters demonstrated their dissatisfaction by electing the PQ and making René Lévesque (1976-1985) their new Premier.

1.3.4 Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language

In addition to the commitment to achieve a sovereign Quebec state, a further issue high on the agenda of the PQ government was the language question, and in August 1977, they introduced Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. The document was ‘the embodiment of changing socio-cultural norms in Quebec’ (Bourhis 1983: 167) and the transformations it caused were so significant that some consider the aftermath of the law to be ‘a second Quiet Revolution’ (see e.g. Rocher 2008: 353). As well as reinforcing the status of French as the only official language of Quebec and listing a series of fundamental language rights, Bill 101 stipulated that French was to become

the ‘normal and everyday language’ in six areas of the province (*Charter of the French Language* 1977, preamble), namely the legislature and courts, civil administration, semi-public agencies, commerce and business, public signage and commercial advertising, as well as education.

Since its implementation in 1977, Bill 101 has been subject to a number of modifications, most of which were the result of Supreme Court rulings that declared provisions of the bill invalid due to their incompatibility with the Canadian Constitution (Woehrling 2008: 354-360). For instance, while French remains the main language of the legislature and courts in Quebec, the Supreme Court of Canada decided in 1979 that bills and laws also have to be translated into English, and that the English-language versions can be used in courts. Without any further changes to Bill 101, French remains the language of the civil administration (that is, the Quebec government, its ministries and affiliated agencies) as well as that of semi-public agencies such as public utility enterprises (for example electricity, water and gas providers) and the professional orders (including doctors, lawyers and accountants). The services of the latter have to be available in French and employers are prohibited from requiring knowledge of any other language unless this is necessary for the particular employment. Furthermore, French also remains the language in the field of commerce and business, where it must be used in product labelling (including food menus and wine lists) and has to be made available for computer software and operating systems unless no French language version exists. As Levine (1997: 257) points out, one of the effects of these stipulations has been the – albeit slow – economic reconquest of Montreal by the francophones:

[w]hile the power of anglophone capital and the use of English in the higher echelons of the economy remain considerable, Montreal now nevertheless has a dynamic and innovative francophone economic elite; the use of French in working environments has become widespread and the income disparities between anglophones and francophones have almost been eliminated.

Another important issue that Bill 101 was supposed to tackle was that of Quebec’s linguistic landscape, that is, ‘the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs’ (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 23). Language planners in Quebec were among the first to recognise the importance of the regulation of such language use: while the linguistic landscape evidently fulfils the basic function of informing individuals of the linguistic characteristics and territorial limits of the region they are

in, it also serves an important symbolic function since ‘the absence or presence of one’s own language on public signs has an effect on how one feels as a member of a language group within a bilingual or multilingual setting’ (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 24-25). Bill 101 thus stipulated that public signage and commercial advertising were to be in French only, with the exception of signs related to the cultural activities of ethnic groups and non-profit organisations. In 1988, however, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the prohibition of any language other than French on public and commercial signs was contrary to freedom of speech as stipulated in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (*Constitution Act* 1982, section 33). In order to be able to temporarily override the Supreme Court decision, Robert Bourassa, once again Premier of Quebec (1985-1994), invoked the notwithstanding clause to pass Bill 178, according to which languages other than French were permitted on signs inside of commercial buildings provided that French was markedly predominant, while signs outside would have to remain solely in French. The notwithstanding clause only being valid for a maximum of five years, Bourassa was forced to find a more permanent solution, which came in 1993 in the form of Bill 86. This document attenuated the original provisions by allowing English in outdoor commercial signage as well, provided that French was clearly dominant. Since 1993, litigants have continued to contest the issue of English on public and commercial signage – but it appears that at least from a legal point of view, Bill 86 has brought the matter to a close (Conrick and Regan 2007: 66-67). As Levine (2008: 448) notes, the language legislation implemented in this respect has succeeded in greatly francising commercial and public advertising in Quebec.

The stipulations of Bill 101 that have sparked the most tensions are those regarding the language of education. The bill clearly states that ‘[i]nstruction in the kindergarten classes and in the elementary and secondary schools shall be in French’ (*Charter of the French Language* 1977, section 72). Access to English-medium schools was originally curtailed to anglophone children whose mother or father had received their elementary education in English in the province itself. This so-called ‘Quebec Clause’ met the immediate disapproval of not only the anglophones and allophones in the province, but also of the federal authorities. Nonetheless, no means were available to combat the clause since it was not incompatible with the Constitution Act of 1867, which continued to be in force at the time (Oakes and Warren 2007: 88). In 1982, however, the federal government repatriated the Canadian Constitution: the new Constitution

Act incorporated that of 1867 as well as its numerous amendments. Article 23 of the 1982 Constitution Act was drafted expressly to counter Bill 101 (see e.g. Simard 2009) and stipulated, *inter alia*, that regardless of the province they reside in, anglophone Canadians who have received their elementary education in English anywhere in Canada should have the right to send their children to English-medium schools. In July 1984, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that this so-called ‘Canada Clause’ would supplant the Quebec Clause stipulated in Bill 101. Nowadays, education in English is permitted for any child of Canadian citizens who received their education in English anywhere in Canada, as well as to children whose parents or siblings received their education in English in Quebec.

Due to the Canada Clause it was, until recently, possible for non-anglophone children to attend an English-medium private school for a short while and thereby ensure passage into the English-language state-funded school system. In 2002, the Quebec government passed Bill 104 in order to close this loophole (see also 3.3.1). In October 2009, however, the Supreme Court of Canada invalidated this bill on the grounds that its provisions contravene the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In the years before Bill 104 was passed, the number of non-anglophone children that were eligible for English-medium state-funded education as a result of having attended an English-language private school had risen steadily, from 628 in 1998 to 1379 in 2002 (Maheu 2009). Since Bill 104 was implemented, however, the percentage of allophones enrolled in English-medium schools has remained relatively stable (Préfontaine 2009). Bill 104 thus proved an effective means of halting the anglicisation of Quebec’s school clientele, and consequently, the Supreme Court ruling that invalidated the bill has provoked strong reactions. Not only eminent figures such as writer Yves Beauchemin, as well as Gérald Larose, the former president of the Commission of the Estates General on the Situation and Future of the French Language in Quebec (see 1.3.6), have expressed their discontent (see e.g. Société Radio Canada 2009b); even certain non-francophones are outraged by the Supreme Court decision. Fecundo Medina (2009), for example, an allophone immigrant who has been living in the province for ten years, comments as follows:

I would never have the cheek to demand that the Quebecers pay for the education of my children in a language other than that declared to be the official language by Bill 101. [...] It is not a matter of forcing a people and a government to their knees in order to emphasise an individual right, but of respecting a law and a language chosen and valued by the overwhelming majority of francophones. [...] If I had decided to live in English, and bring up my children in English, I could have moved to Toronto or Vancouver.

While less moderate voices are seizing this opportunity to call for sovereignty for Quebec (see e.g. Préfontaine 2009; Simard 2009), many others appear to consider ‘the only realistic and reasonable option available to the Quebec government’ to be the inclusion of private schools in the provisions of Bill 101 (Proulx and Proulx 2009; see also e.g. Robitaille 2009a). Indeed, nothing in either the Canadian Constitution or the Quebec Charter would prohibit this. Constitutionally, the provincial government does not have the right to respond to the recent judgement by implementing the notwithstanding clause (see e.g. Proulx and Proulx 2009); however, the Supreme Court ruling will not take effect until the 2010-11 schoolyear, thereby giving the government time to adopt a different approach (see e.g. Société Radio Canada 2009a). It remains to be seen what measures will be taken in order to halt the anglicisation of Quebec’s schools.

It should be noted that the stipulations of Bill 101 currently do not affect Quebecers’ language choices with regard to post-secondary education, which means that Quebecers of all backgrounds can attend English-speaking colleges and universities if they wish to do so. However, in the recent past, the fear that French in Montreal remains endangered and that the current language legislation is insufficient to protect it has sparked debates about the extension of the provisions of Bill 101 to colleges as well as daycare centres (see e.g. Descôteaux 2009; see also 7.1).

In addition to listing fundamental language rights and stipulating that French was to become the language of the six afore-mentioned areas of public life in the province, Bill 101 also further defined the role of the Office de langue française that had been set up in 1961 (see 1.3.2). In 2002, the Office was fused with the Commission de protection de la langue française (Commission for the Protection of the French Language) to form the new Office québécois de la langue française (Quebec Office of the French Language). Moreover, Bill 101 created the Conseil de la langue française (Council of the French Language), which, in 2002, was renamed as the Conseil

supérieur de la langue française (Higher Council of the French Language). The Conseil and the Office are currently the two organisations charged with ensuring the application of Bill 101, with the latter also in charge of levying sanctions against those who do not comply with the provisions of the law. As Conrick and Regan (2007: 61) point out, the enforcement role that Bill 101 assigned to the Conseil and the Office provoked much criticism among the non-francophone population, leading to the characterisation of these organisations as Quebec's 'linguistic police'.

Unsurprisingly, francophone reaction to Bill 101 was overwhelmingly positive. 'Bill 101 culminated the push, begun during the Quiet Revolution, to assert Francophone hegemony in Montreal, and the law quickly gained near-consensual support within the French-speaking community as the legal and symbolic cornerstone of the Francophone reconquest' (Levine 1990: 119). Quebec anglophones, on the other hand, considered the law to be 'an attack on the traditional status of the English-speaking community in the province', and their opposition was thus vehement (Bourhis 1994b: 331). In the years following the adoption of Bill 101, over 150,000 anglophones (a good number of whom were monolinguals) left the province for English-speaking Canada (Bourhis 2001: 116). Of those who stayed, many chose to defy Bill 101, particularly with respect to the stipulations regarding schooling. The anglophone Protestant school board and the anglophone section of the Catholic school board, for example, admitted over 1000 children who, under Bill 101, were technically not eligible for English-language education. However, civil disobedience was a short-lived strategy and by the early 1980s, there were increasing signs that anglophones were complying with the new regulations (Levine 1990: 124). When the PQ was re-elected in 1981 and the improbability of a return to pre-Bill 101 conditions became undeniable, anglophones organised themselves in order to defend community interests. The most prominent example of this is the so-called Alliance Quebec, formed in 1982: supported by funds from the government of Quebec's neighbouring province Ottawa, this organisation lobbied the Quebec government for changes in language policy and supported legal challenges to selected aspects of Bill 101 (Bernard 2008: 364-365). Alliance Quebec continued its work for over two decades, but a prolonged decline in influence, group cohesion and membership ultimately led to the closure of the organisation in 2005. Despite the significant changes brought about by Bill 101, it has to be borne in mind that Quebec anglophones remain a rather privileged linguistic minority, with autonomous schools and social institutions and a still prosperous position in the

Montreal economy (Chambers 2008: 389-397). Moreover, while Bill 101 was an important step in the francophone ‘reconquest’ of Montreal, it was not the final one: the integration of allophones into francophone society also entailed the necessity to forge a new francophone identity that encompassed old-stock francophone Quebecers as well as the emerging French-speaking ethnic minority groups – a challenge that would lead to further difficulties in the decades to come (Levine 1997: 364; see also 1.3.6).

1.3.5 Sovereignty referenda and accords

In May 1980, the PQ government called a referendum in which they proposed sovereignty for Quebec while maintaining an economic association with Canada. While 40.44% of Quebecers were in favour of this, sovereignty was rejected by 59.56% of voters. As Schmid (2001: 106) explains, ‘[t]he 1980 referendum failed at least in part because then-prime federal minister Pierre Trudeau offered Quebecers a “renewed federalism” that seemed to promise to satisfy national aspirations within the framework of a revised Canadian constitution’. However, the new 1982 Constitution Act (see 1.3.4) did not satisfy the Quebec government, which consequently refused to sign the agreement but was nevertheless subject to its provisions. The unwillingness of the Quebec government to endorse the act ‘created an impasse that increased rather than decreased tensions regarding the role of Quebec in the Canadian Federation’ (Bourhis 1994a: 6).

While the independence effort fell short, by the mid-1980s, Montreal’s linguistic dynamics had nevertheless been radically transformed and the francophone community had acquired a sense of ‘relative linguistic security’ (Monnier 1983: 9). However, the mid- to late 1980s were also a period of renewed linguistic tension. As a result of the November 1985 provincial elections, a politically rehabilitated Robert Bourassa and his PLQ replaced the PQ, which had got re-elected in 1981 but then become ‘[b]eset by internal fractionalism, and directionless as its independence project stalled’ (Levine 1990: 131). Yet many francophones were uneasy about the direction of Bourassa’s new language policy – particularly Bill 85 (in 1986), which granted amnesty to the non-anglophone children illegally enrolled in English-medium schools, and Bill 178 (in 1988), which permitted English on public and commercial signage on the inside of buildings (see 1.3.4). There were mass demonstrations in the streets of Montreal and even reminders of the linguistic violence of the 1960s and 1970s, with agitations

continuing up until early 1989. According to Levine (1997: 224-225), indices of the normalisation of the linguistic situation in Montreal did not begin to appear until the early 1990s. In 1993, for example, after Bourassa's provincial government had adopted Bill 86, which permitted bilingual commercial signage for both interior and exterior signs (see 1.3.4), some groups attempted to mobilise the general public to demonstrate against the bill. However, the reaction was only lukewarm and the matter appeared to have lost its ability to bring people to the barricades.

Quebec anglophones as well as English-speaking Canadians in other provinces also reacted strongly to the provisions of Bill 178, their grievance being the fact that the document did not permit English on public and commercial signs on the outside of buildings. They were particularly angered by Bourassa's invocation of the notwithstanding clause in order to implement the bill. English-Canadian backlash undermined the ratification of the so-called Meech Lake Accord, a constitutional amendment package negotiated in 1987 to entice the Quebec government (by means of granting the province the status of a distinct society within Canada) to sign the 1982 Constitution Act. To come into force, the Meech Lake Accord had to be ratified by all Canadian provinces within three years but by the June 1990 deadline, Newfoundland and Manitoba had still not ratified the deal, thus nullifying the accord.

The death of the Meech Lake Accord reflected grassroots Anglo-Canadian opposition to the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society within Canada. [...] The failure to reach an agreement on the minimal amendments needed to suit Quebec's needs for signing the *Constitution Act* was perceived by francophones as a denial of the French fact in Canada. (Bourhis 1994a: 6)

Following the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, a series of deliberations took place that eventually resulted in an agreement for constitutional renewal known as the Charlottetown Accord. The latter, too, contained a clause recognising the distinctiveness of Quebec society, but this was narrowed to language, culture and law. The federal government submitted the accord to a nationwide referendum, and in October 1992, it was turned down by a 55% versus 45% popular vote. Bourhis (1994a: 7) notes that '[p]olls clearly showed that anglophone Canada rejected the deal mainly because it was seen as yielding too much autonomy to Quebec [...]. In Quebec the deal was rejected by francophones because it was seen as yielding too few powers for the province'. To this day, the constitutional debate remains unresolved.

The failure of the two accords fostered renewed interest in sovereignty among Quebec francophones, who felt ‘increasingly rejected as members of a distinct French society within the Canadian Federation’ (Bourhis 1994a: 7). Consequently, the PQ was the winner of the September 1994 provincial elections, making Jacques Parizeau (1994-1996) Quebec’s new Premier. In October 1995, another referendum was held, the PQ’s proposition this time being sovereignty for Quebec and the option of negotiating an economic and political partnership with the rest of Canada. After a hard-fought and divisive campaign between separatists and federalists, sovereignty was rejected by a margin of only 50.58% versus 49.42%, with a participation rate of over 93% of Quebec’s qualified voters. The split was clearly along language lines, with an estimated majority of 60% of francophones voting ‘yes’ and about 95% of non-francophones voting ‘no’ (Schmid 2001: 112). While no further referendum has been called since 1995, the independence issue has not been put to rest and it is assumed that sovereignty will be proposed again if/when the PQ re-gains power and believes that such a referendum would win a solid majority (Schmid 2001: 113).

While during the 1990s the language question was less of a priority in provincial politics than the ‘big question’ of sovereignty, it nevertheless remained a subject of high social significance in Quebec life. Francophones might have retained the sense of linguistic security that Bill 101 has given them, but as long as they consider French in Quebec to be in any way threatened, the language issue will continue to ignite passionate reactions (Levine 1997: 241; 228).

1.3.6 The integration of immigrants

Language legislation has aided Quebec francophones significantly in their ‘reconquest’ of Montreal, and due to provisions such as those of Bill 101, the city is now no longer dominated – economically or linguistically – by its anglophone minority. However, the francophones’ success is fragile: ‘[t]he Charter of the French Language was a *necessary* step, but it was not *sufficient* to guarantee a real linguistic reconquest of Montreal’ (Levine 1997: 354, emphasis in original text). In the context of globalisation and Quebec’s proximity to the largest anglophone markets of the world, French now faces the challenge of English as the global *lingua franca* of our times as well as its status as the language of social and economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States (Stefanescu and Georgeault 2005: 591; see also e.g. St-Laurent 2008: 113). While it is therefore likely that a certain form of intervention will always be

necessary to ensure the predominance of French in Quebec, it is now generally accepted that the future of the language in the 21st century cannot be determined solely by status planning but will also depend on other factors – including, most importantly, immigration and integration policies (see e.g. Levine 1997: 382-383).

As mentioned previously, there were two large waves of immigration into Quebec in the 20th century: between 1901 and 1931, and 1945 and 1961 (see 1.3.1). Since then, too, tens of thousands of immigrants from a wide variety of origins have moved to Quebec each year. Between 2001 and 2006, when the last census was taken, more than 193,000 newcomers arrived in the province (Statistics Canada 2009a). Since 1991, when the Canada-Quebec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens was instated, the Quebec government has had an increased measure of control over the selection of these newcomers: while Canada retains responsibility for the admission of family reunion migrants and refugees, Quebec currently has the exclusive right to select all economic migrants. This means that over the last two decades, the Quebec government has been able to privilege knowledge of French as a key criterion in the selection of many of its newcomers, thereby facilitating the integration of these immigrants to the francophone host community rather than to the anglophone one (Bourhis 2001: 117). The top ten countries of origin of the immigrants who arrived between 2001 and 2006 thus included mainly those from *la francophonie*, that is, the French-speaking world (see e.g. Pöll 2001: 19-24 for a more detailed discussion of the term): France, Morocco, Algeria, Haiti, Lebanon and Romania. Spanish-speaking Mexico and Colombia were also in the top ten, which can be seen as another potential plus for French since migrants whose mother tongue is a related Romance language may be considered more likely to integrate into the francophone community than the anglophone one (see 3.3.1 for a discussion of the factors that are thought to determine allophones' integration into the host communities). However, the number one country of origin between 2001 and 2006 was China (representing 9.5% of the total number of newcomers), and numerous other immigrants also arrived from countries such as Pakistan (number ten in the list), India and the Philippines (Statistics Canada 2009b). While a number of the newcomers from these countries were anglophones, many others were allophones. As mentioned previously (see 1 and 1.3.1), allophone immigrant communities have always tended to concentrate in the Montreal metropolitan region, that is, the area of Quebec where the future of the French language on North America is likely to be determined. As evidenced by table 1.1, all

three of the language communities in the region have experienced an increase in absolute numbers since the beginning of the 21st century, but only the allophones have recorded a corresponding increase in percentage share of the population. With the birth rate among Quebec francophones still relatively low (11.2 per 1,000 in 2007/2008; Statistics Canada 2009c) and prognoses suggesting that it is unlikely to increase in the near future (see e.g. Termote 2008: 425), the integration of this growing number of allophone immigrants and their descendents into the French-speaking community is crucial for ensuring the future of the ‘French fact’ in Quebec (see e.g. St-Laurent 2008: 10).

Table 1.1: Mother tongue groups in the Montreal metropolitan area in 2001 and 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007f/b). Absolute numbers (N) and percentages (%).

	L1 English		L1 French		L1 Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
2001	408,185	12.3	2,275,035	68.8	625,105	18.9
2006	425,635	12.1	2,328,400	66.3	760,445	21.6

Status planning efforts such as Bill 101 succeeded in increasing the *utilitarian* value of French in Quebec by making it the language of the workplace, of education, and so forth (Molinaro 2005: 102; see also 1.3.4). Nevertheless, considering the importance of English in the rest of North America and, in fact, worldwide, it is difficult for French to compete in this respect, and English continues to exert a strong power of attraction among allophone immigrants and their descendents. However, Quebec language planners soon became aware of the potential benefits in encouraging an *affective* attachment to the host society and its language, and that this can constitute an additional source of motivation for learning and using French (Oakes 2005: 188-189). The aim was and remains to make French the common public language, to be used by Quebecers of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds – not only at school and at work, but also in all other public communications. Ever since the 1960s–1970s, the provincial government has thus made efforts to encourage this, and it has now become one of the major cornerstones of language planning in Quebec (see e.g. Oakes 2005: 157-170 for a detailed account of these efforts). In order for Quebecers of diverse backgrounds to feel motivated to use French as the common public language, it is assumed that they need not only an affective attachment to the French language itself, but also to the province of Quebec. One of the ways in which the provincial government recently envisaged generating the latter was by means of a formalised Quebec citizenship, as suggested, for example, by the Larose Commission.

In June 2000, the PQ government under Lucien Bouchard (1996-2001) had set up the Commission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec (Commission of the Estates General on the Situation and Future of the French Language in Quebec), commonly known (after its president Gérard Larose) as the Larose Commission. It was feared that the future of French in Quebec might be threatened by such new realities as globalisation and increased ethnic diversity. Hence, the mandate of the Commission was, *inter alia*, to identify and analyse the main factors that influence the situation and future of the French language, as well as to make recommendations that aim to ensure its use and scope (Gouvernement du Québec 2001: i). The ethnic diversification of the French-speaking community in Montreal, which had been the consequence of the integration of allophone immigrants and their descendents following Bill 101 (see 1.3.4), had indeed at first resulted in a culture shock – primarily because it entailed the necessity to forge a new identity out of the *francophones de vieille souche*, that is, old-stock francophone Quebecers, and the emerging French-speaking ethnic minority groups. Moreover, for the first time, Montreal had experienced the ethnic and racial conflicts that are so typical of the big cities in the United States and English Canada (Levine 1997: 364; see also Dickinson and Young 2003: 345). The report tabled by the Larose Commission, however, commented on the changes in Quebec's mentality, and on the population's readiness to move on to 'another phase': 'There is a common will to work towards an inclusive social project, to construct a common life space and to lower the barriers that divide Quebec society according to ethnic origin' (Gouvernement du Québec 2001: 4). It is now generally acknowledged that a shift has indeed occurred in Quebec from the traditional, defensive, *ethnic* conception of national identity whose basis of inclusion consisted of French ancestry as well as Catholic and rural cultural values (Breton 1988: 94), towards a more assertive, development-oriented, inclusive and *civic* conception of national identity 'which unites people from various ethnic groups around common values and institutions' – with the French language as one of the central elements (Oakes and Warren 2007: 14). In the post-1995 referendum period, this new civic approach led to the idea of a formalised Quebec citizenship, to exist alongside Canadian citizenship and within Canadian nationality. Citizenship, in its classical sense, refers to 'the social and political relationship that an individual has with a given society' (Oakes and Warren 2007: 18). As Weinstock (2000: 17, emphasis added) explains, in addition to being a legal status that entails certain rights and responsibilities, citizenship also comprises an identity dimension, which 'is fully

realised when the attachment to a collectivity designated by citizenship status is of *subjective* importance to the individual'. This latter dimension was the most salient one in the Quebec context: the notion of Quebec citizenship was designed to unite Quebecers of all ethnic origins and to foster a sense of belonging, an affective attachment to the province and its language (Molinaro 2005: 96-97). The Larose Commission thus recommended '[t]hat a Quebec citizenship be officially and formally instituted to reflect the attachment of Quebecers to the entire array of patrimonial and democratic institutions and values that they have in common'; furthermore, the Commission recommended '[t]hat the French language be declared the language through which Quebec citizenship is exercised' and '[t]hat learning French in Quebec be recognised as a fundamental right' (Gouvernement du Québec 2001: 21). The Larose report thereby 'squarely place[d] Quebec language policy and planning within the framework of the new civic approach to national identity which seeks to unite Quebecers of all ethnic origins' (Oakes and Warren 2007: 2). Following the tabling of the report, a committee was appointed to examine the feasibility of the Quebec citizenship proposal, which, due to experts' objections concerning certain technicalities, was eventually rejected by Bernard Landry's PQ government (2001-2003) (Sarrazin 2008: 567). However, while the implementation of Quebec citizenship may have been unsuccessful, the ultimate goal of creating an affective attachment to the province of Quebec and the French language among Quebecers of all mother tongues and ethnic origins remains, even under Jean Charest's Parti libéral du Québec government, which has been in power since 2003.

One means by which the Quebec government is currently attempting to facilitate (indirectly) the integration of allophone immigrants into the francophone community is the creation of an officially sanctioned dictionary of QF. As discussed above (see 1.3.1 and 1.3.2), until and throughout the 1960s, QF was openly denigrated by Quebecers themselves and foreigners alike. However, the nationalist movement of the 1970s not only rekindled francophone Quebecers' pride and confidence in their capacity to take fuller control of their own society (see 1.3.3 and 1.3.4) but it also instilled in them the desire to have a say in determining the status of QF relative to both English and EF (Bourhis and Lepicq 1993: 369). During this period, a more realistic perception of the French language took hold as people became more aware that the French language is not, in fact, homogeneous but that it is spoken differently by members of different social classes, in different regions and in different circumstances – and that this

variation exists not only in Quebec but also in France (Corbeil 2008: 381). The debate about an autonomous and legitimate standard for QF began in 1977, when the Association québécoise des professeurs de français (Quebec Association of French Teachers) programmatically declared that the French taught and used in schools should be '*le français standard d'ici*', that is, standard QF, which they defined as 'the socially prestigious variety of French that the majority of Quebecers tend to use in formal communication situations' (Association québécoise des professeurs de français 1977: 11). Since then, a broad consensus has formed regarding the existence of this standard. As Oakes (2008: 373) notes, in its oral form, which is commonly referred to as Radio-Canada French (after the French-language branch of the federal government-owned broadcaster), standard QF avoids the most stigmatised features of French as spoken in Quebec (such as the diphthongisation of long vowels) but nonetheless includes many phonetic and phonological traits of QF that are now considered socially neutral – such as, for instance, the affrication of /t/ and /d/ before high front vowels (as in [pt^si] '*petit*', 'small' and [d^zir] '*dire*', 'to say') (see e.g. Ostiguy and Tousignant 1993 for a more detailed description of spoken standard QF). In its written form, a standard for QF has traditionally been more difficult to identify, with many Quebecers adopting a norm that approximates that which exists in France (Papen 1998: 163). In addition to certain features concerning morphology (e.g. the feminisation of profession titles, such as '*professeuse*' for a female teacher) and syntax (e.g. the use of periphrastic verb phrases, such as '*être à faire*' for EF '*être en train de faire*', 'to be in the process of doing something'), standard QF is defined in particular by distinct lexical items: archaisms (e.g. '*s'abrier*', which is now EF '*s'abriter*', 'to take shelter') neologisms (e.g. '*poudrerie*' for fine snow in a blizzard) and borrowings (e.g. '*atoca*', 'cranberry', from an Amerindian language) (Conrick and Regan 2007: 143-147). It can be said that with the acceptance of this standard of QF, the linguistic referent has 'at least partially been repatriated and linguistic correction is no longer exclusively measured by the yardstick of the *bon usage* from France' (Pöll 2005: 171). This is evidence of the fact that, despite the strong monocentric ideology that continues to surround it (see 1.3.2), the French language is in reality a pluricentric one (see also e.g. Lüdi 1992: 163-164). QF should therefore not be considered a regional variety of French (with EF as the one and only standard), as has been done traditionally, but as a national variety in its own right. As Lüdi (1992: 161) notes,

[m]ore than a mere change of labels, this conception reflects a new attitude towards [...] variation of French, an attitude which calls into question the absolute domination of the illusory unique *bon usage* and grants non-central varieties of French the same respect as the usage of France and Paris.

However, Lockerie (2005: 16) notes that there are linguistically more conservative Quebecers who do not agree that EF should be abandoned as the standard for French-speakers in the province. Moreover, for a long time, the reluctance of the francophones from France to recognise the reality of such a pluricentric conception of the language was another major obstacle to its acceptance (Pöll 2001: 32). The French harboured the illusion that they were ‘the proprietors of their language’ (Pöll 2001: 8) and feared that by sharing it, they would be ‘dispossessed of their rightful possession’ (Lüdi 1992: 152). While the more informed and open-minded echelons of the French population now appear to be moving away from this opinion, it has to be borne in mind that – at least outside of Quebec – the notion that there is a standard of QF is still relatively recent and not yet in general circulation (Lockerie 2005: 53-54, 28)

Following the pronouncement made by the Association québécoise des professeurs de français in 1977, a number of attempts were made to describe QF in the context of a pluricentric conception of the French language – most notably, the *Dictionnaire du français plus* (1988) and the *Dictionnaire québécois d’aujourd’hui* (1992) (Poirier 1998: 130). In order to better reflect the reality of life in the province, these dictionaries marked words used in France (but not in Quebec) as ‘*francismes*’ – as opposed to dictionaries produced in the monocentric tradition, which consider these words to be the norm and mark those only used in Quebec as ‘*québecismes*’. However, while more knowledgeable commentators welcomed works such as these dictionaries and the way they were devised, the general press reception from the more conservative quarters was, on grounds of principle, largely hostile (Lockerie 2005: 54-55). As a result of the inclusion of items from colloquial and popular language (such as anglicisms, colloquialisms and swear words), both dictionaries were eventually denied the endorsement of the Ministry of Education (Oakes and Warren 2007: 121-122). Nevertheless, even in official circles, it has long been recognised that the existence of an officially sanctioned dictionary of QF could be beneficial.

The existence of such a work would certainly have the consequence of increasing the linguistic security of Quebecers [...] It would allow immigrants in the process of becoming French speakers to benefit from a solid, formally documented reference which would demonstrate the existence and legitimacy of a Standard Quebec French; it would allow allophones [...] to acquire a tool that can only facilitate their integration to Quebec society. (Conseil de la langue française 1991)

It can indeed be hoped that an officially approved dictionary of QF would relieve francophone Quebecers of some of their linguistic insecurity *vis-à-vis* EF by legitimating the ‘thousands of words, senses, expressions, collocations, co-occurrences and citations that constitute [their] way of being, thinking and living, and which [they] need as part of every aspect of [their] life’ (Martel *et al.* 1998: 105). As the Conseil pointed out, a further – and perhaps even more important – benefit of the legitimisation of a standard of QF by means of an official dictionary concerns the linguistic integration of the province’s many allophone immigrants (as well as their descendents). As mentioned above, it is on this group of Quebecers that the future of French in the province now depends. However, as Bourhis (1997: 307) points out, standard EF remains the target norm taught to those learning French as a second language in most parts of the world, and the conception of French among the majority of newcomers to Quebec is therefore invariably more monocentric than that of Quebecers who were born in the province. An officially sanctioned dictionary would have the potential to improve the power of attraction of QF by presenting the allophones with a socially acceptable, locally-defined standard. Oakes and Warren (2007: 126) note that by facilitating the integration of allophone immigrants, such a dictionary would therefore actively contribute to the more civic model of nation that Quebec has chosen for itself. The FRANQUS research team at the Université de Sherbrooke, which was appointed to produce an official dictionary of QF and is currently in the process of doing so, does indeed conceive their work in terms of this civic approach to national identity. Yet while the publication of the dictionary was originally foreseen for 2007 and then postponed until autumn 2009 (FRANQUS n.d.), at the time this thesis was submitted, the final version was not yet available to the general public, either electronically or in print. In the absence of an officially sanctioned dictionary of QF, reference thus continues to be made to works produced in France. Once it has been published, however, the new dictionary will constitute a milestone in Quebec language planning and it is expected to assist strongly in promoting a new pluricentric conception of the French language. This is even more

meaningful when one considers that Quebec is the only francophone territory to have attempted the codification of its own linguistic norms, thereby defying the traditional hegemony of French from France as the supra-regional norm for all French-speaking countries and territories (Pöll 2005: 161).

2. Language attitudes and methods of elicitation

Many studies stress the importance of grounding language attitudes research in attitude theory in general (see e.g. Baker 1992: 23). Consequently, this chapter begins with a brief introduction to the two main frameworks of attitudes research, namely behaviourism and mentalism. Section 2.1 provides an overview of the way researchers who adhere to each of these frameworks define the concept of attitude and view issues such as attitude structure, formation and enduringness. Furthermore, the section addresses the concept of stereotypes, which is pertinent to any discussion of attitudes in intergroup contexts. This general introduction to attitude theory is followed by a discussion about language attitudes in particular: section 2.2 comprises an examination of the strong link between language and social identity, a brief outline of the issue of language attitude change, an explanation of the subjectivity of language attitudes, as well as a summary of both the individual and the sociostructural factors that language attitudes are assumed to be determined by. The penultimate part of section 2.2 pertains to the two main dimensions of language attitudes, namely status and solidarity, as well as the notion of person/group-centredness, a concept that is thought to have significant evaluative consequences in intergroup contexts. The discussion of language attitudes concludes with the presentation of a conceptual model of language attitudes as a social process. The final section of this chapter, section 2.3, concerns the three main methods of attitude elicitation, namely content analyses of the societal treatment of languages (2.3.1), direct measures of language attitudes (2.3.2) and indirect measures of language attitudes (2.3.3).

2.1 Attitudes

For almost a century now, the notion of ‘attitude’ has been one of the key concepts of the social and behavioural sciences, and a large body of sociological, social psychological and sociolinguistic literature is devoted to its analysis. The main reason for the centrality of this notion in both theory and research is the widely accepted idea that attitudes exert selective effects on information processing.

The empirical literature on attitudinal selectivity features various versions of a single central proposition that attitudes bias information processing in favor of material that is congruent with one’s attitudes – that is, in favor of proattitudinal information. The underlying rationale for this proposition is that people are motivated to defend their attitudes from information that would challenge them. (Eagly and Chaiken 1998: 292)

This idea is fundamental to the understanding of attitudes, and it is congruent with the widely accepted assumption that the main function of attitudes is to organise and structure stimuli in an otherwise ambiguous informational environment in order to enable individuals to adapt to this environment (Eagly and Chaiken 1998: 292, 303).

Without guiding attitudes the individual is confused and baffled. Some kind of preparation is essential before he can make a satisfactory observation, pass suitable judgement, or make any but the most primitive reflex type of response. Attitudes determine for each individual what he will see and hear, what he will think and what he will do. (Allport 1935: 806)

Consequently, it is generally agreed that '[a]t the *individual level*, attitudes influence perception, thinking and behaviour', and '[a]t the *intergroup level*, attitudes towards one's own group and other groups are the core of intergroup cooperation and conflict' (Bohner 2001: 240, emphasis in original text). A vast variety of definitions of the concept of attitude exist, most of them reflecting the particular theoretical or research interests of the studies from which they originate. The two main theoretical frameworks for attitude research are behaviourism and mentalism.

The classic behaviourist view, which is one of the earliest approaches in psychology, considers attitudes to be located in people's responses to various stimuli. According to the behaviourist framework, attitude *measurement* therefore simply consists of the observation, quantification and generalisation of overt behaviour (Bain 1928: 940). In the case of language attitudes, examples of this overt behaviour would be the use of verbal and non-verbal language in actual interactions, such as one's language choice and use of code-switching as well as one's posture and gestures when involved in a conversation. There is, however, one significant problem with the behaviourist framework, namely the fact that behaviour tends not to be consistent across contexts. As Ajzen (1988: 45) explains, '[e]very particular instance of human action is [...] determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction'. A person's actual behaviour in a particular situation thus depends not only on their attitudes but also on numerous other factors, including the target their specific action is directed at, the context, time and occasion, and the immediate consequences that the behaviour can be expected to have (Gross 1999: 347-348). Hence, the fact that a person behaves in a particular way in one specific situation is by no means a guarantee that they will behave like that again, which makes single instances of behaviour rather unreliable indicators of attitudes in

general. This means that while attitudes influence overt behaviour to a certain extent, the two are not related in a simple one-to-one fashion (Gross 1999: 438). This lack of a direct, predictive relationship between attitude and behaviour – and vice versa – poses a major problem to the behaviourist framework.

As Wingstedt (1998: 10) points out, the orthodox behaviourist view appears to have become rather outdated, and in line with a general paradigmatic shift within the behavioural sciences, most contemporary research now adheres to a mentalist approach instead. The classic mentalist definition of the notion of attitude is that by Allport (1935: 810), who describes it as ‘a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related’. The crucial aspect of this definition is that attitudes are thought to influence individuals’ behaviour, rather than determine it (Gardner 1982: 132). Thus, as Allport (1935: 805, emphasis added) explains, ‘[i]t [that is, an attitude] is not behavior, but the *precondition* of behavior’. Even within the mentalist framework, there exist several different definitions of attitude, all of which are based on the same principles as Allport’s. The most widely preferred one appears to be that by Ajzen (1988: 4), according to whom an attitude is ‘a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event’. While most work on attitudes nowadays is based on the mentalist view, it should be noted that this framework is not without problems either: for example, defining attitudes as ‘states of readiness’ or ‘dispositions to respond’ implies that they have no overt substance and thus cannot be directly observed – which leads to methodological difficulties such as the determination of the right kind of data from which attitudes can be inferred (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138). Consequently, ‘[t]he translation of the notion “attitude” from the subjective domain into something objectively measurable [...] is a common problem in any research that involves social categorization and judgements’ (Romaine 1995: 288). Some of the methods that have been used to obviate this problem will be discussed in section 2.3.

While there are obviously great conceptual differences between the behaviourist and the mentalist views of the notion attitude, there are at least some aspects in which there appears to be a consensus between the two. For example, adherents of both frameworks agree that attitudes are learned from previous experience and that

therefore, individuals do not hold an attitude towards an object until they first encounter either the object itself or information about it (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 139). The example Eagly and Chaiken (1998: 270-271) use to illustrate this pattern of attitude formation is that of many individuals' aversion to sour tastes.

[A]lthough humans are apparently predisposed to react negatively to sour tastes [...], an individual would not have a negative attitude toward a sour-tasting fruit such as raw gooseberries until one was experienced in some fashion – for example, tasted and perceived to have a bad taste. Only after this first encounter would the individual have started to form a negative attitude toward raw gooseberries. [...] Evaluative responding – whether it be covert or overt, implicit or explicit, automatic or deliberate – can thus produce a psychological tendency to respond with a particular degree of evaluation when subsequently encountering the attitude object. If this response tendency is established, the person can be said to have formed an attitude toward the object.

An additional point on which there appears to be a consensus between most behaviourist and mentalist researchers concerns the assumption that attitudes are ordinarily not isolated in individuals' minds but are linked to other attitudes – as a consequence of which, for example, someone's attitudes towards certain political issues may be closely linked with their attitudes towards prominent politicians who have taken position on this issue (Eagly and Chaiken 1998: 281). Furthermore, 'practically everybody agrees that attitudes [...] are not momentary but relatively "enduring". Many theorists also agree that attitudes bear some positive relation to action or behavior, either as being a "predisposition to behavior" or as being a special aspect of behavior itself' (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 139).

An important issue that arises in the consideration of attitudes is whether or not they have identifiable subcomponents. This appears to be the matter on which there is the greatest *disagreement* between the behaviourist and the mentalist viewpoints. Generally speaking, researchers who follow the behaviourist perspective view attitudes as unitary components, while those who adhere to the mentalist view consider attitudes to have a multiple componential structure (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138-139). Numerous more or less complex componential models of the notion of attitude have been constructed by various mentalist scholars (see e.g. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 140). The classic model is one that posits three different types of components: a cognitive, an affective, and a conative component. The cognitive component concerns thoughts and beliefs about the attitude object; the affective component consists of the

emotions and feelings that are elicited by the attitude object; and the conative component comprises both readiness for action, that is, behavioural *intentions*, as well as *actual* behaviour directed at the attitude object (Bohner 2001: 241). A positive attitude towards the Green party, for example, might thus entail ‘(1) the expectation that their participation in government will advance environmental protection (a positive belief); (2) one’s admiration for Green politicians (a positive feeling); and (3) the intention to donate money to the party’s election campaign (a positive behaviour) [or rather, behavioural intention]’ (Bohner 2001: 242). While attention to these different components of attitude in the social psychological literature goes back at least to McDougall (1908), it was not until the 1960s that the tripartite model began to play a central role in most major treatments of attitude theory (Breckler 1984: 1192), and it was Rosenberg and Hovland’s (1960: 3) schematisation that was the most commonly referred to. Similar versions of this model in its hierarchical form persist in most current work on language attitudes: cognition, affect and (readiness for) action constitute the foundation and then merge into the higher level of abstraction, that is, an attitude (see figure 2.1).

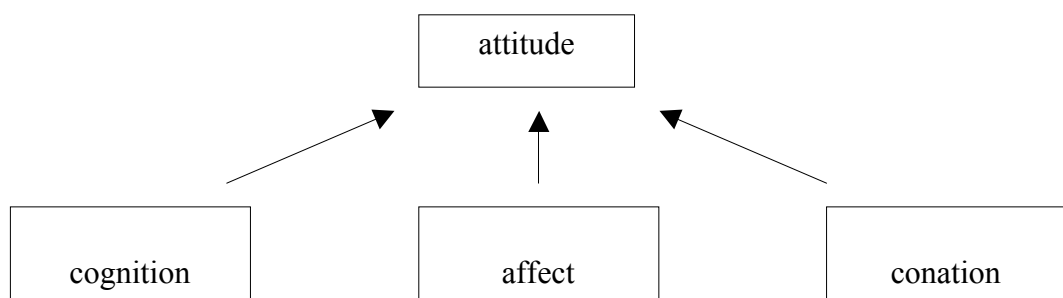


Figure 2.1: The subcomponents of an attitude (adapted from Baker 1992: 13)

Studies such as Breckler’s (1984) notorious snake experiments have substantiated the validity of this tripartite model and indicate strong support for cognition, affect and conation as distinct attitude components.

An important concept that should be addressed in this context is the notion of ‘stereotypes’, which is pertinent to any discussion of attitudes in intergroup contexts. Stereotypes are ‘societally shared beliefs about the characteristics (such as personality traits, expected behaviors, or personal values) that are perceived to be true of social groups and their members’ (Stangor 1995: 628), and they are thought to reflect and represent intergroup relations (Bourhis *et al.* 1997: 273). All intergroup relations are,

psychologically, characterised by stereotypes (beliefs), prejudices (affects) and discrimination (behaviours) (Bourhis and Maass 2005: 1587). As indicated by the tripartite model above, in attitude theory, mentalist researchers consider beliefs to be ‘basic building blocks’ of attitudes in the sense that ‘attitudes are assumed to reflect the beliefs that people hold about attitude objects’ (Eagly and Chaiken 1998: 274). With stereotypes being beliefs, it is thus not surprising that there is a significant amount of overlap between *their* functions and characteristics, and the roles and properties of *attitudes* that are discussed in this chapter. Like attitudes, for instance, stereotypes can be both positive and negative in nature (Bourhis and Maass 2005: 1587). The beliefs that women are poor drivers, Italians are romantic and boys are better at mathematics than girls are thus all examples of stereotypes. Furthermore, stereotypes can apply to both one’s own group – which in the social psychological literature is usually referred to as the ‘ingroup’ – and to any other so-called ‘outgroup’ (Bourhis *et al.* 1997: 273). Stereotypes are believed to derive in large measure from the process of categorising, which is ‘the structuring of sense data through grouping persons, objects and events (or their selected attributes) as being similar or equivalent to one another’ (Tajfel 1981: 148). Examples of categories that can be used to label individuals as ingroup or outgroup members, and that can therefore serve as the basis of stereotypes, are factors such as age, sex, nationality, occupation, social or economic status, sexual orientation, marital status and language. Tajfel stipulates that stereotypes are generally assumed to fulfil two basic individual, cognitive functions. The first one is to ‘simplify or systematize, for purposes of cognitive and behavioural adaptation, the abundance and complexity of the information received from its environment by the human organism’ in order to make sense of ‘a world that would otherwise be too complex and chaotic for effective action’ (Tajfel 1981: 147-148). The second cognitive function stereotypes are considered to fulfil is to preserve and defend each individual’s value system (Tajfel 1981: 148), which – as Tajfel (1981: 156) puts it – ‘underlies the division of the surrounding social world into sheep and goats’. In addition to these two basic individual, cognitive functions, Tajfel also proposes two major social, collective functions served by stereotyping. The first one refers to the role of stereotypes in ‘contributing to the creation and maintenance of group “ideologies” explaining or justifying a variety of social actions’, and particularly reactions to, and treatment of, outgroup members (Tajfel 1981: 148). The second major social, collective function assumed to be served by stereotyping is the ‘creation or maintenance of differentiation, or of a “positive distinctiveness” of one’s own group from others which are relevant to

the group's self-image' (Tajfel 1981: 162). Stangor (1995: 628) notes that stereotypes are heuristic and individuals frequently fall back on them as short-cuts in their evaluations of others rather than going through the significantly more effortful process of judging each individual they encounter on their own merits. He also explains that 'unless perceivers are both motivated and capable of making individuated judgements, stereotypes are likely to be the default form of social judgement' (Stangor 1995: 631). Once developed, stereotypes are maintained through so-called 'expectancy effects' that lead people to encode and process information in a manner that preferentially supports existing beliefs: stereotypes exert selective effects on information processing by biasing it in favour of material that is congruent with existent beliefs rather than information that disconfirms these, and when relevant information about an individual is unknown, stereotypes tend to be used to 'fill in the picture' (Stangor 1995: 630-631). Therefore, the stereotypes that individuals have – particularly of outgroups – are often not even moderated by their (however frequent) experiences with group members who do not fit these stereotypes (Rothbart 2001: 46; see also Rothbart and John 1993). Based on the assumption that stereotypes serve to defend individuals' value systems, Tajfel (1981: 156) explains this as follows:

In such cases, encounters with negative or disconfirming instances would not just require a change in the interpretation of the attributes assumed to be characteristic of a social category. Much more importantly, the acceptance of such disconfirming instances threatens or endangers the value system on which is based the differentiation between the groups.

Furthermore, it should be noted that stereotypes not only tend to be highly resistant to disconfirming experiences but that they have also been found to be notoriously resistant to change through interventions (Stangor 1995: 631; see e.g. Beattie *et al.*'s 1982 account of the stability of social stereotypes in post-revolutionary Iran).

2.2 Language attitudes

Based on the above discussion of attitudes in general, and in the light of the elaborations of Ryan *et al.* (1982: 7), the term '*language attitude*' is used here in a rather broad and flexible sense, referring to any cognitive, affective or conative index of evaluative reactions towards different languages/varieties and their speakers. This section begins with a discussion of the strong link between language and social identity, which serves as an explanation as to why the speakers of languages/varieties are included in this definition of language attitudes. Following this, the issue of

language attitude change is addressed briefly before the section proceeds by considering the subjectivity of language attitudes and both the individual and the sociostructural factors that language attitudes are assumed to be determined by. The penultimate part of this section pertains to the two main dimensions of language attitudes, namely status and solidarity, and the notion of person/group-centredness, a concept that is thought to have significant evaluative consequences in intergroup contexts. Finally, a model of language attitudes as a social process is presented, which introduces a number of further factors pertinent to the understanding of language attitudes in addition to bringing together much of what has been discussed previously.

With regard to the definition of language attitudes given above, the fact that the speakers of languages/varieties are included is due to the close connection between language and social identity. Social (or group) identity is considered to be ‘a prescriptive and evaluative self-definition in terms of the properties of a specific ingroup’ (Hogg 1995: 555).⁵ A theory of social identity was developed by Henri Tajfel and his associates (see e.g. Tajfel and Turner 1986). One of the basic assumptions of this theory is that certain intergroup phenomena (such as the functions that stereotypes serve for social groups, and the nature of the link between these functions and their adoption by large numbers of people who share a social affiliation) cannot be explained sufficiently in terms of personal identity (Tajfel 1981: 147). As mentioned above, factors such as age, sex and language are examples of the numerous categories that can be used to label individuals as members of different ingroups and outgroups – and the membership of these groups can thus be an important factor in the individuals’ social identity. Evidently, everyone has multiple group memberships and therefore also a repertoire of numerous social identities that vary in their overall importance to the self-concept depending on the contextual factors involved (Hogg 1995: 556). Certain settings, situations and encounters with outgroups tend to make particular social categories more salient than the others (Bourhis and Maass 2005: 1587). However, as Tajfel and Turner (1986: 16) point out, not all between-group differences actually have evaluative significance, and those that do tend to vary from group to group: results of previous studies suggest that skin colour, for instance, is more important in the United States than it is in Hong Kong, while in multilingual countries or regions such as Belgium, Wales and Quebec, language appears to be a particularly salient dimension

⁵ Social identity stands in contrast to individual (or personal) identity, a term which pertains to self-definitions that are unique to the self and derived from close personal relationships and idiosyncratic attributes such as abilities and personal achievements (Hogg 1995: 555).

of social identity. Based on a large body of research evidence, it has long been acknowledged that language is an important ‘symbol of social or group identity, an emblem of group membership and solidarity’ (Grosjean 1982: 117). This symbolic nature of language naturally also finds expression in the attitudes that people hold towards individual languages and their users. ‘If language has social meaning, people will evaluate it in relation to the social status of its users. Their language attitudes will be social attitudes’ (Appel and Muysken 1987: 12) – or, as Joshua Fishman rather poetically states with reference to all languages/varieties: ‘[t]heir virtues are in the eyes (or ears) of their beholders’ (Fishman 1970: 24). In most modern research, attitudes towards particular languages/varieties are therefore either taken to be reflections of the attitudes towards the speakers of those languages/varieties (see e.g. Ryan *et al.* 1982; Edwards 1985; Appel and Muysken 1987; Hamers and Blanc 2000; Garrett *et al.* 2003; Pöll 2005), or they are at least assumed to be very closely linked to them (see e.g. Tabouret-Keller 1997).

This assumption implies that language attitudes, just like any other kind of attitudes, can change, that they are not static. As Baker (1992: 12) points out, the notion of attitude serves a double function: ‘it provides a presage and a product variable, a predisposer and an outcome’; or, as Garrett *et al.* (2003: 6) phrase it, attitudes ‘function as both input to and output from social action’. This means that on the one hand, a particular attitude will result in people evaluating an attitude object in a particular way. A positive attitude towards the French language, for example, will cause people to see it as beautiful and potentially result in their wanting to take French lessons. On the other hand, various factors can lead people to change their attitude towards languages. In situations of language contact, for example, it is not unusual for the status relationships between the language communities to change over time, thereby leading to altered attitudes towards both the language communities themselves and their languages (Hamers and Blanc 2000: 292; see e.g. Willemyns 1997 and 2006 for an account of the altered status relationships between the Flemings and the Walloons, and the resulting changes in attitudes towards Flemish and French in Belgium).

It should also be pointed out that, both linguistically and aesthetically speaking, there is nothing intrinsic to any language/variety that makes it better or worse, or more or less beautiful than any other language/variety. As a consequence of the fact that

language is not simply an objective, socially neutral instrument of communication but is so closely linked to social identity, attitudes towards languages/varieties are better understood as attitudes towards the members of language communities (Edwards 1994: 89). They are based upon the knowledge of the social connotations that they hold for those who are familiar with them, upon ‘the levels of status, prestige, or appropriateness that they are *conventionally* associated with in particular speech communities’ (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 227, emphasis in original text). Thus, evaluations of languages/varieties cannot be said to reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality *per se*, but they should rather be considered as ‘expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties’ (Edwards 1982: 21). This assumption is supported by numerous studies, some of which are discussed in section 3.2.1.

Furthermore, it is important to stress that while language attitudes are social attitudes, this naturally does not mean that every single member of a given group has exactly the same attitudes towards the language of their ingroup or any outgroup. Although no comprehensive model has been posited, there are various factors relating to the individual (as opposed to the language group) that are thought to influence language attitudes. Baker (1992: 41-46), for example, considers some of the most important variables to be age, gender, ability, cultural background and language background. A further factor that influences attitudes of any kind appears to be educational level (see e.g. Harding *et al.* 1969; Beattie *et al.* 1982). The significance and influence of most of these factors is self-evident and requires no further explanation. With respect to age, however, Baker (1992: 42) points out that it is highly unlikely that there is some sort of intrinsic maturational process that causes attitudes to change; instead, it can be assumed that it is the socialisation process experienced throughout life (such as relationships, the influence of peer groups and mass media, child rearing, etc.) that has an effect on the way people evaluate languages. He thus describes age as ‘an “indicator” or “holding” variable that sums up movement over time, and does not reveal the underlying reasons for that movement’. Likewise with respect to gender, Baker (1992: 42) remarks that it is unlikely that differences in language attitudes have biological or maturational causes. Rather, he stipulates that the reasons for the differences are located in the socio-cultural behaviour of boys and girls or men and women, and in the kind of individual differences that may exist at any point in time between the two genders.

In addition to these determinants of language attitudes that relate to the individual, there are also certain sociostructural factors that are thought to influence the formation and expression of language attitudes. While the actual macro-context is commonly recognised to be complex and multifaceted, it seems that standardisation and vitality – originally presented as such in a model by Ryan *et al.* (1982) – are the two most critical variants among all possible sociostructural factors in intergroup situations (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 226). A language/variety is said to be standardised if a formal set of norms defining its ‘correct’ usage has been codified (usually by means of dictionaries, grammars, etc.), and this codified form of the language/variety has become accepted within the relevant speech community (Fishman 1970: 24-25). Typically, the process of standardisation is advanced and confirmed via such institutions as the government, the education system and the mass media. The standard language/variety consequently becomes associated with these institutions, the kinds of interaction that most commonly occur within them, and the sets of values that they represent (Fishman 1970: 25). The second sociostructural determinant of language attitudes, vitality, refers to the number of interaction networks that actually employ a particular language/variety for one or more essential functions; ‘[t]he more numerous and more important the functions served by the variety for the greater number of individuals, the greater is its vitality’ (Ryan *et al.* 1982: 4). A theory of so-called ‘*ethnolinguistic* vitality’, now commonly accepted and widely referred to, was proposed by Giles *et al.* (1977). They define ethnolinguistic vitality as ‘that which makes a group behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’ (Giles *et al.* 1977: 308) and systematise the numerous situational variables relating to ethnolinguistic vitality by organising them under three main headings: status, demography and institutional support. Status factors are those that ‘pertain to a configuration of prestige variables of the linguistic group in the intergroup context’ (Giles *et al.* 1977: 309), such as the social and economic status of the linguistic group and the status attributed to their language/variety. The more status a linguistic group and its language/variety are recognised to have, the more ethnolinguistic vitality they are assumed to possess. Demographic factors are ‘those related to the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the territory’ (Giles *et al.* 1977: 309), and they include, for example, birth rate, emigration and the size of the group under investigation compared with that of the relevant outgroup. Groups with favourable demographic trends are likely to possess more ethnolinguistic vitality than those groups whose demographic trends are unfavourable. Institutional support factors refer

to ‘the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a nation, region or community’ (Giles *et al.* 1977: 309), and the researchers suggest that the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is related to the degree its language is used in institutions of the government, church, business and so forth. While Giles *et al.* (1977) do not consider their analysis of the factors involved in ethnolinguistic vitality to be exhaustive, they nevertheless regard status, demography and institutional support as the main factors that affect it. They postulate that minorities with little or no ethnolinguistic vitality are likely to eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups, while groups with more ethnolinguistic vitality are much more likely to survive and thrive as collective entities in intergroup contexts (Giles *et al.* 1977: 308). Ryan *et al.* (1982: 5) point out that strong vitality of a language or variety naturally enhances its potential for standardisation – while, in turn, standardisation contributes substantially to the vitality of a language or variety. However, while both standardisation and vitality are conceivably objective factors, language attitudes will only be affected by the speakers’ and hearers’ subjective or *perceived* assessment of these variants (see e.g. Cargile *et al.* 1994: 226; Giles and Ogay 2007: 299).⁶

The penultimate part of this section pertains to the two main evaluative dimensions of language attitudes, namely status and solidarity. Throughout time, empirical research from numerous parts of the world has revealed that status and solidarity really are independent dimensions (see e.g. Genesee and Holobow 1989: 21-22) and that it is indeed in terms of these two primary dimensions that the identities of speakers of different languages/varieties tend to be evaluated (Edwards 1985: 150; see e.g. Cheyne 1970, Giles and Powesland 1975, Luhman 1990, Echeverria 2005). A language/variety that is perceived to have much status is one that is associated with power, economic opportunity and upward social mobility (Echeverria 2005: 249). Such a language/variety therefore typically enjoys significant overt prestige. A language/variety that is evaluated highly on the solidarity dimension, on the other hand, is one that ‘elicits feelings of attraction, appreciation and belongingness’ – which is typically the case for the language/variety of one’s family life and intimate friendships, as this ‘acquires vital social meaning and comes to represent the social group with which one identifies’ (Ryan *et al.* 1982: 9). Such languages/varieties are said to enjoy covert prestige (Labov 1972: 249; Pöll 2005: 186). The dimensions of

⁶ As Giles and Johnson (1981: 231) point out, there is in many cases a considerable overlap between both objective and subjective measures of standardisation and vitality; however, in other cases, there may be only little correspondence.

status and solidarity are considered to ‘have a universal importance for the understanding of attitudes towards contrasting language varieties’ (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1073). They are, for instance, crucial determinants of why certain minority languages persist and others do not, and for why certain language planning policies are implemented successfully while others fail (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 224).

The two main evaluative dimensions of language attitudes, status and solidarity, are assumed to be closely connected to the two main sociostructural determinants of language attitudes discussed above, that is, standardisation and vitality. As Bradac (1990: 394) explains, maximally favourable evaluations on both the status and solidarity dimension are likely to be made of speakers who use standard forms that are also perceived to be high in vitality, while maximally unfavourable evaluations with regard to both status and solidarity will be made when both the degree of standardisation and vitality are perceived to be low. When the degree of standardisation is low but vitality is perceived to be high, ratings on the status dimension might be expected to be low but solidarity ratings should be high; when the degree of standardisation is high but vitality is perceived to be low, ratings of status should be high while those of solidarity are likely to be low. Ryan *et al.* (1982: 8) posit that both the status and the degree of standardisation that pertain to a language/variety are much more stable than its vitality and the way it is evaluated along the solidarity dimension. Nevertheless, both the vitality and the degree of standardisation of different languages or varieties can and do change. Changes pertaining to these two main sociostructural factors that influence language attitudes are likely to be linked to altered relations between the different language groups involved. As discussed above, these altered relations, in turn, are thought to entail changing patterns of language attitudes, which can affect both the status and the solidarity dimension.

Another, similar distinction that should be mentioned in this context is that of instrumental and integrative orientations to second language learning. This dichotomy originates from the tradition of research in the area of second language acquisition that was started by Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert in the late 1950s (see e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1959, 1972). An orientation, according to these researchers, represents the ultimate goal for achieving the more intermediate goal of learning a second language (Gardner 1985: 11). An integrative orientation is one ‘where the aim in language study is to learn more about the language group, or to meet more and

different people” (Gardner and Lambert 1959: 267). It is of a social and interpersonal nature and, as it generally finds expression in wanting to be identified with another language group or wanting friendship within that other group, it is thought to have conceptual links with the need for affiliation (Baker 1992: 32). An instrumental orientation, on the other hand, is one ‘where the reasons [for learning a second language] reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement’ (Gardner and Lambert 1959: 267). It is typically characterised by ‘a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a [second] language’ (Gardner and Lambert 1972: 14). An instrumental orientation to language learning is thus mostly self-oriented and it has conceptual overlap with the need for achievement (Baker 1992: 32). The material incentive to acquire proficiency in French that results from Bill 101 making command of the language a key criterion for employment in Quebec (see 1.3.4) is an example of factors that can provide an instrumental orientation to language learning. The affective attachment to the French language that the Quebec government was trying to generate by means of Quebec citizenship, on the other hand (see 1.3.6), is an example of what could have instilled in non-francophones an integrative orientation to language learning. As Oakes (2001: 32) points out, the differentiation between instrumental and integrative orientations is usually confined to the field of second language acquisition, while the aforementioned distinction between status and solidarity pertains to the broader context of language evaluation in general, that is, evaluations encompassing not only attitudes towards second and foreign languages but also those towards one’s own mother tongue. Oakes (2001: 32) therefore posits that a statement such as ‘Knowledge of French will help me find employment’ would seek to tap an instrumental orientation to learning the language if it was presented to a speaker of a language other than French; however, when presented to a native speaker of French, the aim of the same statement would be to determine if that person valued their mother tongue on the status dimension. On the other hand, when presented to a speaker of a language other than French, a statement such as ‘French is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions’ would seek to tap an integrative orientation to learning French, while if it were presented to a native French speaker, the same statement would seek a judgement of that person’s mother tongue in terms of ingroup solidarity.

A further factor that should be discussed in this context is the concept of ‘person/group-centredness’ (see e.g. Giles and Ryan 1982: 217-221). This notion is

based upon the distinction between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour, the two of which are thought to anchor a bipolar continuum of behaviours. At one extreme are interactions between two or more individuals that are ‘fully determined by their interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics, and not at all affected by various social groups or categories to which they respectively belong’ (Tajfel and Turner 1986: 8). The other extreme of the continuum consists of interactions between two or more individuals (or groups of individuals) that are ‘fully determined by their respective memberships in various social groups or categories, and not at all affected by the interindividual personal relationships between the people involved’ (Tajfel and Turner 1986: 8). It has been argued that the more a situation is perceived to be towards the intergroup pole of the continuum, the more uniformity individuals will show in their (evaluative) behaviour towards the members of the relevant outgroup: ‘individuals will not interact *as* individuals, on the basis of their individual characteristics or interpersonal relationships, but as members of their groups standing in certain defined relationships to members of other groups’ (Tajfel and Turner 1986:10, emphasis in original text).⁷ Consequently, in situations that are perceived to be towards the intergroup pole of the continuum, one should thus expect more stereotypical, and less individuating judgements of both the ingroup and the outgroup language or language/variety (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1074; Rothbart *et al.* 1984: 127).

The final part of this section on language attitudes consists of the presentation of a conceptual model of language attitudes as a social *process*. This model, developed by Cargile *et al.* (1994), summarises much of what has been discussed above as well as introducing a number of additional factors pertinent to the understanding of language attitudes (see figure 2.2).

⁷ Rothbart *et al.* (1984: 127) illustrate this with the example of a striking worker and a policeman who interact with one another on a picket line: ‘the behavior will be greatly constrained by the social categories that are important to the situation; that is, the police respond to the potential disruptiveness of the worker and the worker responds to the police as a symbol of established and oppressive authority. They are very unlikely to respond to one another as individuals with, say, common interests in fishing, baseball, sex, and family’.

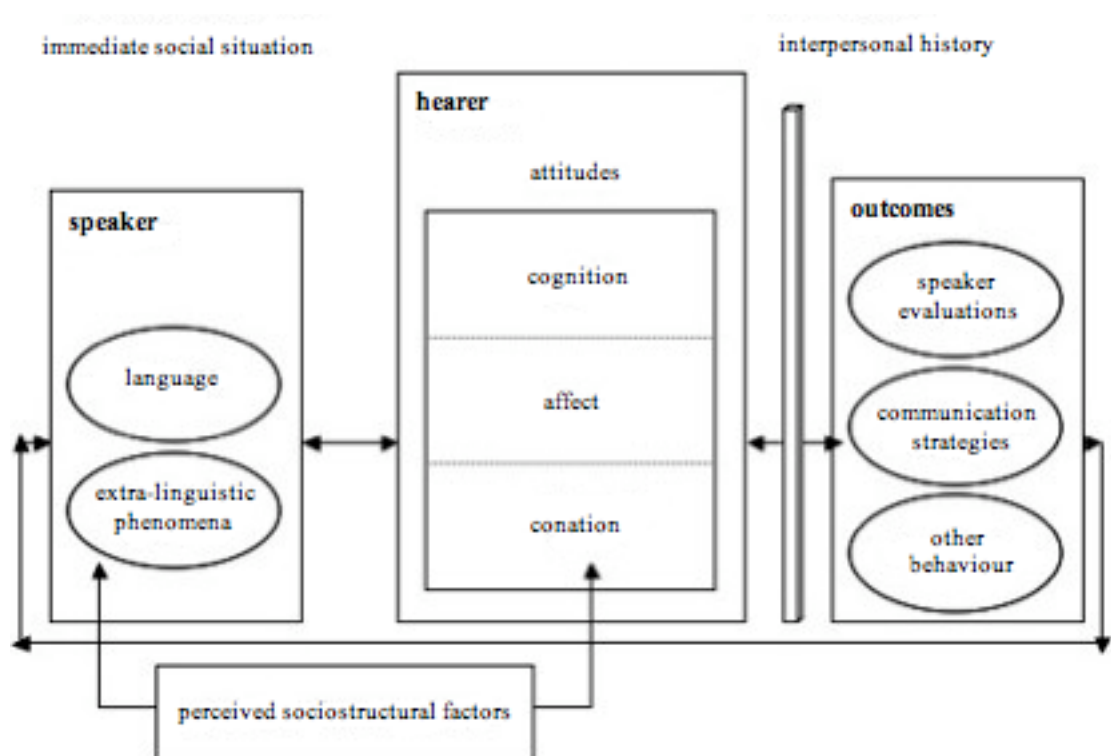


Figure 2.2: A social process model of language attitudes (adapted from Cargile *et al.* 1994: 214)

The bi-directional arrows and the feedback loop in this figure are meant to indicate that language attitudes are not a static phenomenon but rather affect, and are affected by, numerous different elements in a recursive fashion.

The first aspect of the model to be described here are the speaker dynamics. As elaborated previously, language is a powerful social force that ‘does not exist in isolation or for its own benefit, but is a tool that is shaped and wielded by human beings’ and that has both intended and unintended consequences (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 215). As it therefore makes little sense to discuss language apart from the person who makes use of it, the model situates language within the speaker. Also situated within the speaker are what is here labelled ‘extra-linguistic phenomena’ – that is, non-verbal visual behaviours such as gestures. However, while these phenomena might ‘mitigate, reinforce, or interact with attributions made on the basis of language alone’, the results of numerous studies (see e.g. Elwell *et al.* 1984) suggest that language itself nevertheless provides the more salient cues in social interactions and should therefore constitute the focus of language attitude studies (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 215). With respect to the hearer dynamics, the model encompasses cognition, affect and cognition as the components of the notion attitude, in the same manner as discussed in section 2.1.

Two further aspects that are incorporated into this model of language attitudes as a social process are the interpersonal history between interlocutors and the immediate social situation. It seems that the more developed the interpersonal history between interlocutors, the less likely the hearer will be to hold attitudes towards the speaker that are purely based on their language behaviours: ‘attitudes triggered by various linguistic features are most likely to affect recipients’ behaviours towards senders in contexts of low familiarity’ (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 223). With respect to the immediate social situation, it should be borne in mind that linguistic features that tend to be evaluated negatively in one context might under different circumstances be perceived very positively. The example given by Cargile *et al.* (1994: 225) is that of a slow speech rate, which is likely to be considered odd during introductions at a cocktail party, yet would most probably be perceived as entirely appropriate in the context of a lecture on nuclear physics, where it would be seen as a feature designed to facilitate the transmission of highly technical information.⁸ Also incorporated into the model are the abovementioned sociostructural factors that are assumed to determine language attitudes, that is, standardisation and vitality. As mentioned previously, while both standardisation and vitality are conceivably objective factors, language attitudes will only be affected by the speakers’ and hearers’ subjective or perceived assessment of these variants – hence they are labelled ‘perceived sociostructural factors’ in the diagram.

Finally, the model of language attitudes as a social process visualises what the authors refer to as ‘outcomes’. The different kinds of outcomes included in the model are dealt with in the next (and final) section of this chapter, which pertains to methods of attitude elicitation. Section 2.3.3 contains a discussion of speaker evaluations, that is, ratings of speakers on any number of traits. Communication strategies such as convergence and divergence will be examined in section 2.3.1. Furthermore, the description of the ‘theatre-audience method’ (also in section 2.3.3) is an example of a method designed to investigate co-operation, one of the phenomena subsumed by Cargile *et al.* (1994) under the heading of ‘other behaviour’.

⁸ While this is not mentioned in Cargile *et al.*’s (1994) description of the model, it can be assumed that the differentiation between interpersonal and intergroup encounters as discussed above also constitutes part of the immediate social situation.

2.3 Methods of attitude elicitation

There are three main techniques that are used in the measurement of language attitudes: content analyses of the societal treatment of languages/varieties, direct measurement and indirect measurement of language attitudes (see e.g. Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1068; Ryan *et al.* 1982: 7).

2.3.1 Content analyses of the societal treatment of languages/varieties

The term content analyses of societal treatment of languages/varieties is used to refer to '[a]ll techniques which do not involve explicitly asking respondents for their views or reactions' (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1068). Examples of methods that are usually classified under this category include demographic and census analyses, analyses of government and educational language policies, analyses of newspapers and broadcasting media, and analyses of prescriptive language books (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1068). A frequently cited example of a study that involves content analyses of societal treatment (see e.g. Ryan *et al.* 1982: 7; Oakes 2001: 30) is Joshua Fishman's book *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966), in which he examines trends in the maintenance and shift of ethnic languages by means of analyses of language policies, the number of language users, and the proportions of language use in several different domains. Content analyses of the societal treatment of languages are frequently overlooked in the contemporary literature on language attitudes; however, it should be borne in mind that this approach 'is undoubtedly an important source for gaining insights into the relative status and stereotypical associations of language varieties' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 15). In this thesis, a content analysis of the societal treatment of English, QF and EF in Quebec in the form of demographic data, language policies, language use and dictionaries is employed in chapter 1 in order to establish a context for both the review of previous language attitudes studies that have been carried out in this area (chapter 3) as well as the presentation and analysis of the original data (chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Further examples of methods that belong to the category of content analyses of the societal treatment of languages include ethnographic and observational studies (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1068). A number of studies that employ observation as part of their methodology will be discussed in chapter 3. Observation involves the recording of people's activities, such as their language behaviours, by the researcher – and since it is a very unobtrusive way of investigating attitudes, observation is thought to elicit the most naturalistic data (Fasold 1984: 152). However, while much overt behaviour may

be easily observable, it should be borne in mind that there are nevertheless certain types of behaviour that are either impossible to observe directly because they took place in the past, or difficult to observe directly because they usually tend to be enacted in private (Manstead and Semin 2001: 99). Furthermore, as mentioned above, individuals' behaviour, especially when they are aware of the fact that they are being observed, can be used to deliberately conceal negative attitudes. There is a particularly significant risk of this happening if these attitudes are considered to be socially unacceptable (Baker 1992: 15-16). As Fasold (1984: 152) points out, observation is the most appropriate method for research that adheres to a behaviourist view of attitudes. Hence it follows that the most significant criticism brought forward against observation as a means of determining language attitudes is the same as that levelled against the behaviourist framework in general – namely that, in addition to individuals' attitudes, there are numerous other factors that influence their behaviour, and that there is thus no direct, predictive relationship between behaviour and attitude (see 2.1). This poses a significant problem to the use of observation as the sole means of attitude measurement.

The particular theory that underlies the aforementioned observational studies that will be discussed in chapter 3 is known as Communication Accommodation Theory (hereafter CAT). CAT was developed in the early 1970s by Howard Giles and his associates (see e.g. Giles 1973; Giles *et al.* 1977), and it provides a wide-ranging framework 'aimed at predicting and explaining many of the adjustments individuals make to create, maintain, or decrease social distance in interaction. It explores the different ways in which we accommodate our communication, our motivations for doing so, and the consequences' (Giles and Ogay 2007: 293). The three basic communicative strategies involved in the creation, maintenance and decreasing of social distance in interactions are termed divergence, maintenance and convergence. Convergence – which has been the most extensively studied and can be considered the 'historical core' of CAT (Giles and Ogay 2007: 295) – occurs when speakers adapt their linguistic behaviour by switching to the language/variety of their interlocutor. Maintenance has been defined as a communicative strategy whereby speakers choose to maintain their own language/variety, regardless of the speech style of their interlocutor; and divergence is a strategy whereby speakers accentuate the differences between their own speech style and that of their interlocutor by switching to their own native language/variety.

As Sachdev and Bourhis (2001: 410) point out, ‘communication cannot be assumed to occur in a sociostructural vacuum’. Any communicative situation is embedded in a broader macrocontext, and both the current and the past relations between the interactants’ social groups are part of the socio-historical context for the interaction – which can naturally be assumed to affect the degree to which the interactants accommodate to one another (Giles and Ogay 2007: 299). Consequently, and because language is considered to be such an important dimension of social identity, numerous factors are thought to govern the ways in which individuals accommodate their communication to their interlocutors. Convergence, for example, is an associative speech strategy and can be used in order to signal interpersonal liking or to improve communicative effectiveness; however, when the variety of the interlocutor that a speaker switches to is – in that setting – considered to be more prestigious than the speaker’s mother tongue, it can also be used as ‘an ingratiating strategy or as a way of being perceived more favourably by one’s interlocutor’ (Amiot and Bourhis 1999: 3). When this is the case, and particularly in situations that are located at the intergroup end of the person/group-centredness continuum, convergence often takes place at the cost of the speaker’s social identity (Giles and Ogay 2007: 296). Both divergence and (to a lesser extent) maintenance are dissociative speech strategies. They can, in some cases, simply reflect someone’s dislike of their interlocutor or the speaker’s lack of linguistic competence; however, both of these strategies are also assumed to have functions related to one’s assertion of ingroup identity *vis-à-vis* outgroup speakers (Amiot and Bourhis 1999: 3). With respect to maintenance, for example, Giles and Coupland (1991: 66, emphasis in original text) point out that although keeping one’s speech style congruent across situations may be construed as ‘a communicative *non-event*’, it can, in many intergroup contexts, constitute a highly symbolic tactic, ‘a valued (and possibly conscious and even effortful) act of maintaining one’s group identity’. Furthermore, under certain conditions, people may not only want to maintain their own speech style but they may wish to emphasise it in interaction with others in order to accentuate the differences between themselves and their interlocutors (Giles *et al.* 1977: 323). Particularly in situations that are located at the intergroup end of the person/group-centredness continuum, the motivation for divergence is thus likely to be ‘the desire to emphasize distinctiveness from one’s interlocutor, usually on the basis of group membership’ (Giles and Ogay 2007: 296). Based on the above elaborations, Giles and Ogay (2007: 297) explain that satisfying communication can be assumed to

require ‘a delicate balance between convergence – to demonstrate willingness to communicate – and divergence – to incur a healthy sense of group identity’.

It should be noted that both divergence and convergence may be either upwards or downwards, where the former refers to a shift towards a consensually prestigious language/variety, and the latter to a shift away from such a language/variety (Giles and Coupland 1991: 67). Moreover, it appears that divergence and convergence are not simply binary sociolinguistic choices that speakers make depending on their definition of the interactive situation. Giles *et al.* (1977: 323-324) posit that the situation is far more complex than this, given that a speaker may converge or diverge on a variety of linguistic dimensions. It is possible to shift entirely into the interlocutor’s language/variety, to use a mixture of one’s own and the interlocutor’s languages/varieties, to employ one’s own language/variety but to translate certain key words and concepts, or to remain in one’s own language/variety but to deliberately slow down one’s speech rate – and these are only some of the examples that are given for the dimensions on which individuals can *converge*. In a similar vein it is assumed that there are a host of different *divergent* strategies that an individual can select from their speech repertoire. As Bourhis and Maass (2005: 1590) explain, conscious or less conscious use of communicative strategies such as convergence and divergence reflects both the motivational, cognitive and emotional needs of individuals as they interact with each other, as well as the influence of the prevailing sociolinguistic norms about appropriate language choices. Instances of overt, quantifiable linguistic behaviour such as the use of these communicative strategies are therefore thought to reflect – at least to a certain extent – the *attitudes* that interactants hold towards each other and their respective social groups (Giles and Ogay 2007: 294; Cargile *et al.* 1994: 224).

2.3.2 Direct measurement of language attitudes

Questionnaires and interviews are known as direct measures of language attitudes as they both involve the use of a number of direct questions in order to obtain people’s evaluations of languages/varieties. Questionnaires have the advantage of being easy to distribute and collect, which means that data can be gathered from a much larger number of people than it is possible to interview or observe simultaneously (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 33). Furthermore, the use of questionnaires is a relatively uniform procedure which tends to yield results that can be more easily compared and analysed across

informants than those of the open-ended discussions that usually take place during interviews (Romaine 1995: 302). Another advantage is that, in instances where it is not possible or desirable to obtain data from respondents in a single location, it is possible to post questionnaires. While the low response rates on posted questionnaires are notorious, mailing the research instrument is at least a possibility not available to researchers using other methods of data collection (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 34). However, questionnaires also have a number of significant drawbacks. These include the fact that responses to standardised questions concerning issues such as language attitudes tend to be strongly influenced by survey variables such as question wording and question order (Vandermeeren 1996: 157), as well as the ethnic identity, gender, status, age, social class and language in its verbal and non-verbal forms of the individual who administers the questionnaire (Baker 1992: 19). Furthermore, if respondents are simply asked about their attitudes, there is a substantial risk that certain negative aspects of these may be withheld. Questionnaires are often transparent in the sense that the purpose of research can easily be recognised – and as most individuals, consciously or unconsciously, tend to give socially desirable answers to put themselves in the best light (a phenomenon sometimes referred to as the ‘halo effect’), it is likely that respondents who fill in questionnaires distort their actual attitudes by responding in a more prestigious or more acceptable manner (Baker 1992: 19). This means that in many cases, questionnaires fail to reveal any socially undesirable attitudes towards languages (as well as those that are held unconsciously) (Hamers and Blanc 2000: 222-223). Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that due to the anonymity offered by questionnaires, the likelihood of responses being affected by social desirability biases is at least lower than it is in the case of interviews (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 34).

The other type of direct attitude measurement is the research interview. Interviews can be conducted either with individuals or with groups of people, and they have two main advantages over questionnaires. First, the personal contact involved enables the interviewer to combat reluctance in respondents and focus their attention on the desired dimension, which significantly increases the chances for honest, serious responses (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 149) that are also less likely to digress from the research topic. The second significant advantage is that the interactive nature of the interview context enables the researcher ‘to identify and pursue any differences in interpretation of questions, to encourage respondents to clarify any unclear responses, to pursue responses in more depth, and spontaneously to take up any unanticipated but

interesting points that are raised in the course of the interview' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 35). However, all of the drawbacks that are pertinent to questionnaires also apply to interviews. Some further difficulties with interviewing as a method of attitude measurement include the fact that it tends to be extremely time-consuming and expensive (Fasold 1984: 152), the difficulties in processing the bulky and sometimes relatively diffuse data that it yields (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 149), and the circumstance that many people do not have a vocabulary of terms with which they can evaluate language appropriately (Romaine 1995: 289). Acquiescence – 'the tendency to agree with what another person says' (Bainbridge 2001: 8) – poses an additional problem to the validity of the data obtained in research interviews.

With respect to both questionnaires and interviews, there is also the issue of which one(s) of the components of people's language attitudes these methods actually measure. The most widespread opinion (see e.g. Ryan *et al.* 1982: 7) appears to be that direct measures of language attitudes mainly elicit the cognitive component, that is, the beliefs that people hold about languages/varieties. However, as is frequently pointed out in the literature on language attitudes, cognition (that is, beliefs) and affect (that is, emotions and feelings) are not always necessarily of the same nature. This can be demonstrated with an example from the field of second language acquisition: a mother may believe that learning French is important for her children's future career (cognition) and therefore encourage them to take French lessons at school (behaviour), despite the fact that she herself loathes the language (affect) (Edwards 1994: 98). Doubt must therefore be expressed as to whether the nature of the affective component of an attitude can actually be inferred from results elicited by means of these direct methods (Baker 1992: 12). It follows that researchers 'cannot wholly rely upon verbally-expressed language attitudes to be a true reflection of a person's deeply-rooted feelings' (Giles *et al.* 1977: 327).

2.3.3 Indirect measurement of language attitudes

In attempts to obviate some of the problems associated with direct methods of assessing language attitudes, many researchers have devised experimental, indirect situations of attitude elicitation. The overall term used to describe these is the 'speaker evaluation paradigm' (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 213). The most well-known and sophisticated indirect method of attitude elicitation is the so-called matched-guise technique, which was developed by Wallace Lambert and his associates in the late

1950s (Lambert *et al.* 1960). Alongside questionnaires, this technique is the most commonly used method for the investigation of language attitudes among researchers who adhere to a mentalist framework (Appel and Muysken 1987: 16-17), and it forms the foundation of the social psychological perspective on language attitudes (Ryan *et al.* 1984: 137).

In the basic set-up of a matched-guise experiment,⁹ tape recordings are made of a number of perfectly bilingual/bidialectal speakers who read the same passage of prose twice, once in each of their languages/varieties. Prosodic and paralinguistic features of voice, such as pitch and speech rate, are kept constant as far as possible across the different recordings (Giles and Coupland 1991: 34). The voices and the languages/varieties on the tape are randomised, and the subjects whose language attitudes are being studied then listen to these recordings, unaware of the fact that they are hearing the same speakers twice, in matched guises. Instead, they are under the impression that they are listening to a series of different people, some of whom speak in one language/variety, some in another, but the subjects know that all speakers are delivering the same message. The effects of both the voices of the speakers and their messages are thus minimised, and other potentially influential factors such as physical appearance are excluded. Using voice cues only, the subjects then have to rate personality characteristics of the speakers on semantic scales with opposite extremes of certain traits at either end (for example, intelligent – not intelligent, trustworthy – not trustworthy, etc.). Using recordings of additional speakers (so-called ‘practice voices’ or ‘filler voices’) at the beginning, the subjects are given practice trials beforehand, making them well acquainted with both versions of the message, written copies of which are also supplied in advance. (Naturally, the ratings made of the filler voices are not included in the final results.) Furthermore, to avoid the problem of subjects evaluating the speakers in a socially desirable and therefore possibly dishonest way, they are not told the real research purpose before they participate in the experiment. Instead, the study is generally introduced as ‘an experimental investigation of the extent to which people’s judgements about a speaker are determined by his voice’, as is done when trying to estimate the personality of an unfamiliar speaker on the radio or at the other end of a telephone (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 44). The subjects are informed that the different languages/varieties are being used to give greater scope to

⁹ Unless indicated otherwise, the following description of the matched-guise technique is based on Lambert (1967) as well as the ‘background’ and ‘method’ sections in Anisfeld and Lambert (1964), Lambert *et al.* (1965), Lambert *et al.* (1966) and Lambert *et al.* (1960).

the experiment. As the subjects remain unaware that they are in fact hearing the same speakers twice, in matched guises, any differences in reaction to the two text fragments recorded of one speaker are presumed to be based on the subjects' attitudes towards the two different languages/varieties spoken, and thus also to the groups with which these languages/varieties are associated.

Ryan *et al.* (1987: 1073; see also Giles and Ryan 1982: 218) posit that situations in which individuals are asked to evaluate the speech style of an unknown, anonymous speakers on a tape clearly constitute cases that are most likely to be found at the intergroup end of the person/group-centredness continuum discussed above. As elaborated in section 2.2, it is assumed that in situations of this kind, individuals can be expected to make much more stereotypical, and much less individuating judgements of the languages/varieties they are evaluating than they would do in encounters that are determined by the interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics of the interlocutors involved (Rothbart *et al.* 1984: 127). Any significant uniformity in the evaluations made by the subjects of a matched-guise study can therefore be assumed to represent the stereotyped impressions of the subjects' ingroup towards the group of speakers of the particular languages/varieties that they are evaluating, regardless of whether this is the ingroup or an outgroup.¹⁰

While the majority of indirect attitude studies have so far made use of the matched-guise technique in its pure form, a number of variations have been devised. The term 'verbal-guise technique', for example, has been used by some researchers to refer to the more general situation in which different speakers are used (see e.g. Cooper and Fishman 1974; Ladegaard 2000). Often, this design has been employed out of necessity, when there was no possibility of locating speakers who could produce different guises convincingly enough or with a comparable degree of fluency (see e.g. Nesdale and Rooney 1996). However, it has to be borne in mind that even when speakers are used who do not differ on any important characteristics (such as age, sex, social class, or ethnic identity), the comparability of one speaker and another is

¹⁰ Since Pear's (1931) classic study in the 1930s, in which he invited BBC audiences in the UK to provide personality profiles of certain voices that they heard on the radio, numerous further studies have been carried out in order to determine whether voice parameters really are an external mirror of someone's dispositional states. As Giles and Coupland (1991: 33) point out, most researchers have concluded that there is only a very modest overlap between listeners' judgements and speakers' actual personalities. Hence it can be assumed that in matched-guise experiments, the speakers' actual personality characteristics are unlikely to be the cause of any of the evaluations.

doubtful. The same drawback is inherent to the so-called ‘segmented dialogue technique’, in which recordings of dialogues involving a number of speech turns in the languages/varieties under investigation are employed, with each language/variety being spoken by a different speaker (see e.g. Genesee and Bourhis 1982; discussed in 3.1.2). Other researchers (see e.g. Shuy *et al.* 1969; Huygens and Vaughan 1983) have used speakers’ spontaneous answers to controlled questions (such as enquiries for directions from one part of a city to another) instead of taped readings, but again the comparability of the results is reduced as even slight differences in the wording of the responses could potentially influence the subjects’ evaluations of the speakers.

A number of researchers have also employed presentations in naturally occurring settings. An example of this is a study conducted by Bourhis and Giles (1976). In an attempt to escape the laboratory-type setting of the typical matched-guise studies, of which they thought that ‘the lack of a real life social context for these tasks has made these evaluations somewhat artificial’ (Bourhis and Giles 1976: 13), they devised what is sometimes referred to as the ‘theatre-audience method’ (see e.g. Garrett *et al.* 2003: 55; the same methodology was subsequently also employed by Kristiansen 1997). The purpose of this method was ‘to conduct a matched-guise study in a naturalistic setting where listeners would have no prior evaluative set since they would be unaware of their participation in an experiment’ (Bourhis and Giles 1976: 13). Recordings were made of the same speaker, in different guises (Welsh and English), reading an announcement in which theatre audiences were asked to participate in a survey. This pre-recorded message was then broadcast over the public-address system in a theatre in Wales during programme intervals over a number of nights, each time in a different guise. The number of theatre-goers who decided to participate and the language in which they decided to complete the questionnaire forms were used as the dependent measures of this study. The results, concluded Bourhis and Giles (1976: 15, emphasis in original text), demonstrated that ‘listeners’ cooperative *behavior* can be influenced by a speaker’s style of speech not only in face-to-face situations, but also on the basis of voice cues alone’. However, two main drawbacks are pertinent to this method. First, as elaborated above, there is a lack of a direct, predictive relationship between behaviour (both reported and actual) and attitudes – which makes the dependent measures employed in studies of this kind rather unreliable indices of the audiences’ attitudes towards the different languages/varieties in which the announcements were made. Second, this method entails that each guise of the speaker is evaluated by

different subjects – and as the researchers themselves recognised (Bourhis and Giles 1976: 16), theatre audiences may vary from night to night. Factors such as the type of play that is staged and what night of the week it is, are likely to play a significant role. Hence, unless the questionnaire employed in a study of this kind includes items concerning the respondents' age, sex, social class and ethnic identity, and these are found to be similarly distributed in all audiences, there is thus little guarantee that the backgrounds of the groups under investigation are comparable.

Naturally, the matched-guise technique in its pure form also has its drawbacks. Agheysi and Fishman (1970: 146; see also Fasold 1984: 153), for example, have pointed out the unsuitability of this method for attitude elicitation in diglossic settings. Such settings are typically characterised by a high degree of code-switching, which is dependent on factors such as domain, topic, location, role, and interaction type. The fact that the text is the same in both languages/varieties thus poses a problem as there might be an incongruity between the language/variety in which the text is read and the topic that it deals with. Respondents might therefore give low evaluations to speakers in one guise but not in the other, not because they have negative attitudes towards the language/variety itself, but because they think that it is inappropriate for use in the discussion of that particular topic. Giles and Coupland (1991: 54-55) point out an additional drawback of the matched-guise technique, namely that texts and the topics they deal with are never really 'neutral', even if these texts have been composed by researchers explicitly in order to be politically and socially inert, uncontroversial or even trivial:

Texts inevitably seek to establish or subvert, through complex and often inconsistent means, rhetorical, political and ideological positions. [...] Texts themselves, therefore, no less than the vocal styles that may realize them, can never be neutral; they are interpreted and subsequent actions accounted for on the basis of pre-existing social schemata.

Another aspect of the matched-guise technique that has been criticised is its alleged artificiality. While asking people to evaluate speakers on the basis of nothing but their voices provides maximum control over other potentially influential variables, some researchers see this method as 'a bit far removed from real-life contexts' (Fasold 1984: 154) and consider matched-guise experiments to be 'pencil and paper-studies' (Laur 1994: 76). Furthermore, there is a danger of the subjects being overly influenced by the fact that they are being given a rating sheet and told to evaluate the speakers they are

going to hear, as this might ‘set [them] up to make evaluative judgements in a way that doesn’t happen in ordinary interactive settings’ (Fasold 1984: 155). The juxtaposition of two languages/varieties could be what causes subjects to feel ‘compelled to look for contrasts’, and their evaluative reactions to each language/variety – if it were encountered individually – might be entirely different to the evaluations obtained in a comparative matched-guise study (Luhman 1990: 340). A final criticism that has been brought forward against the matched-guise technique is that the language attitudes that are elicited from ‘interactively non-involved’ subjects are necessarily different from those of individuals actually participating in the exchange (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1076).

Admittedly, the suitability of the matched-guise technique in its pure form as a means of attitude elicitation in diglossic settings is limited. In most other situations, however, the advantages of this technique are considered to compensate for its drawbacks. Indeed, the method has become virtually standard in language attitudes research (Fasold 1984: 149-150), and since it was first used by Lambert and his associates in the late 1950s in order to investigate attitudes towards English and French in Quebec, the technique has been applied in a wide range of settings, including Israel (e.g. Lambert *et al.* 1965), Morocco (e.g. Bentahila 1983), France (e.g. Paltridge and Giles 1984), Spain (e.g. Woolard and Gahng 1990; Echeverria 2005), the U.K. (e.g. Sachdev *et al.* 1998) and Russia (e.g. Andrews 2003), to name just a few. The major strength of the technique lies in ‘the elicitation of spontaneous attitudes less sensitive to reflection and social desirability biases than are directly assessed attitudes’ (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1072), and the underlying assumption of the method is that in studies of this kind, much more private reactions will be revealed than in standard measures of attitudes such as questionnaires or interviews.¹¹ As Lambert (1967: 94, emphasis in original text) himself states, ‘[t]he technique is particularly valuable as a measure of *group* biases in evaluative reactions; it has very good reliability in the sense that essentially the same profile of traits for a particular group appears when different samples of judges, drawn from a particular subpopulation, are used’. Therefore, the matched-guise technique is by many researchers considered to be ‘a rigorous and elegant design’ for

¹¹ It should, however, be noted that while studies that make use of the matched-guise technique are assumed to reveal much more *private* reactions than those employing other measures of language attitudes, this does not mean that the matched-guise technique is believed to measure the *affective* component of attitudes. Only a small number of researchers (see e.g. Giles *et al.* 1995; Cargile and Giles 1997) have attempted to investigate listeners’ affective responses to speech by employing the matched-guise technique and administering a scale designed to measure participants’ mood states in addition to the scales traditionally used to measure evaluations of the speakers in terms of traits such as intelligence, trustworthiness and dependability.

investigating people's language attitudes that has generated a very considerable number of studies in various multilingual and/or multiethnic contexts with a reasonable degree of comparability, thereby allowing for cumulative development of theory and laying 'the foundations for cross-disciplinary work at the interface of the social psychology of language and sociolinguistics' (Garrett *et al.* 2003: 57).

As Ryan *et al.* (1987: 1076) point out, few studies to date have used both direct and indirect techniques of attitude measurement, and fewer still all three – direct and indirect methods as well as content analyses of the societal treatment of languages/varieties.¹² Ryan *et al.* (1987) strongly – and very convincingly – advocate the use of all three, but at least the direct and indirect methods, by explaining that if only one type of measurement is employed, it is impossible to make definitive statements about anyone's language attitudes. Furthermore, they explain that it is quite possible, and even to be expected, that on many occasions, direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation will yield *contradictory* results. This is by no means an issue of relative methodological merit but is due to the fact that direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation simply produce results at different levels of analysis.

This is so because of the often-forgotten fact that language attitudes are not like minerals there to be mined and unearthed, they are *social constructions* constantly changing to meet the demand of the situation in which they are *expressed* [...]. The direct and indirect methods lay claim to quite different layers of experience and as such manifest sometimes quite contradictory, yet highly rational, attitude constellations. (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1076, emphasis in original text)

Hence, Ryan *et al.* (1987: 1076) conclude that '[t]o use only one method, and particularly so in pursuit of socio-political ideals and/or policy implementation, is to be guilty of misunderstanding the nature of language attitudes'. Furthermore, it should be noted that only the combination of different methods of attitude elicitation allows the achievement of full understanding of language attitudes as the social *process* that they are, as no one method on its own takes into account all of the different factors included in Cargile *et al.*'s (1994) abovementioned model.

¹² Relatively recent exceptions are studies such as those by Ladegaard (2000) and Kristiansen (2003), both of which investigated language attitudes in Denmark, as well as Lawson and Sachdev's (2000) investigation of attitudes towards code-switching in Tunisia.

3. Previous Studies

For a long time, Quebecers had to live with a ‘double linguistic insecurity’: on the one hand, French was second to English, the language of upward social and economic mobility; and on the other hand, the variety of French spoken in Quebec was strongly depreciated *vis-à-vis* French from France, which was the only model of reference (Martel and Cajolet-Laganière 2008: 459; see also 1.3). This chapter summarises the most significant language attitudes studies that have been conducted in Quebec since the late 1950s. Unless mentioned otherwise, all investigations were carried out in Montreal, ‘a community whose history centers largely in a French-English schism which is perhaps as socially significant for residents of the province of Quebec as that between the North and the South is for Southerners in the United States’ (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 44; see also chapter 1). Evidently, none of the methodologies employed in the studies presented here – that is, observational studies, questionnaires, interviews/discussions as well as the matched-guise technique in its pure and variant forms – are free from drawbacks (see 2.3). Moreover, there are flaws inherent in each of these specific investigations – be it that the majority of the matched-guise experiments only employed speakers of one sex and used texts that could have affected the subjects’ evaluative reactions, or the fact that potentially influential factors such as the subjects’ socio-economic background or degree of bilingualism were not always taken into account. Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that it is impossible to establish a direct, causal link between legislative and socio-political changes on the one hand, and the development of language attitudes on the other hand. Nevertheless, placing these studies in their historical context proves insightful and indicates how anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers’ language attitudes have changed since the late 1950s. It should be noted, however, that the list of studies discussed in this chapter is by no means exhaustive. The aim is simply to give an overview of the development of language attitudes in Quebec in order to provide a context for the findings of the author’s own study, which are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: sections 3.1 and 3.2 pertain to anglophone and francophone Quebecers’ attitudes towards English versus French as well as their perceptions of Quebec French versus European French respectively. Subsequently, section 3.3 presents evidence of Quebec allophones’ attitudes towards these same languages/varieties.

3.1 Anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards English versus French

It should be noted that a number of the studies discussed in this section investigate not only anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards English versus French but also their evaluations of Quebec French versus European French. The results presented here are only those pertaining to English versus French; the remainder of the findings are discussed in section 3.2.

3.1.1 Attitudes prior to 1977

Precursors of language attitudes studies go back hundreds of years. However, 'if one construes the concept of "language-attitudes research" rather narrowly to refer to the explicit, scientific study of attitudinal consequences of dissimilar language varieties, one can usefully cite as the first contemporary study the investigation of Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum' (Bradac 1990: 388). This investigation was an early, in fact perhaps the earliest, attempt to exert experimental control over potentially confounding speaker idiosyncrasies. It is in the Lambert *et al.* (1960) study that the origins of the speaker evaluation paradigm can be found (see 2.3.3), and indeed many of the roots of the social psychology of language itself can be traced to this seminal investigation (Giles and Coupland 1991: 33).

Lambert *et al.* collected their data in 1958-59 by means of a matched-guise experiment and a questionnaire, with the aim of investigating attitudes towards English, QF, broad QF and EF (see 3.2.1 for a discussion of the results pertaining to the different varieties of French). The subjects of the study were anglophone undergraduates and francophone college students, some of whom had higher and some lower skills in the outgroup language. Contrary to what had been predicted, higher competence in the outgroup language did not appear to have a significant impact on the subjects' evaluations of the speakers in their different guises. However, it is noteworthy that both anglophones and francophones evaluated the English guises more favourably than the French ones. As explained in section 2.2, there are two main evaluative dimensions, namely status and solidarity. While Lambert *et al.* did not divide their descriptors into status and solidarity ones, they explained that their selection of traits was meant to include 'several of those commonly considered necessary for social and economic success (e.g., looks, leadership, confidence, ambition)', balanced with 'personality characteristics generally considered of greater value, such as likeability

and kindness' (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 48; see Appendix A for the evaluation traits employed). Genesee and Holobow (1989; see 3.1.2) subsequently categorised Lambert *et al.*'s descriptors into status- and solidarity-related traits in order to facilitate a comparison of their own results with those of Lambert *et al.*, and based on this retrospective categorisation, Lambert *et al.*'s findings can be summarised as follows: the anglophones evaluated the English guises more favourably than the French ones on the majority of status traits and one of the solidarity traits, and the francophones evaluated the English guises more positively on all status traits as well as on some of the solidarity traits. The francophones thus evaluated the English guises more favourably on an even larger number of traits, and on many of them to a higher degree, than the anglophones did. The only trait on which the francophones evaluated the French guises more favourably than the English ones was 'kindness'. These findings were somewhat more significant in view of Lambert *et al.*'s two pilot studies. Here, too, anglophone and francophone subjects had rated the speakers more favourably on the majority of traits in their English guises – again, with the exception of the trait 'kindness', where the francophones had evaluated the French guises more favourably. The results of the Lambert *et al.* study were interpreted as 'a reflection of the community-wide stereotypes of English- and French-speaking Canadians' (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 51). In other words, the francophones were considered to regard themselves as an inferior minority that had adopted, and even amplified, the stereotyped values of the majority group. Lambert *et al.* cited several studies that document parallel processes (Adelson 1953; Sarnoff 1951; Steckler 1957). In fact, in the more recent literature, it has come to be accepted that subordinate groups frequently 'internalize a wider social evaluation of themselves as "inferior" or "second-class", and [that] this consensual inferiority is reproduced as relative self-derogation' (Tajfel and Turner 1986: 11; for further evidence, see e.g. Giles and Powesland 1975; Romaine 1995).

The correlations between the results of the matched-guise experiment and those of the questionnaire were found to be very low. However, since direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation produce results at different levels of analysis (see 2.3.3), these low correlations are not at all surprising. In fact, they lend support to the notion that 'attitudes as measured by the matched guise technique are not contaminated by the listeners' awareness of the real purpose of the experimenter' and that it is therefore 'reasonable to believe that the matched-guise technique furnishes the investigator with a purer measure of attitude' (Preston 1963: 20).

Evidently, despite its seminal role in language attitudes research, the Lambert *et al.* study was not without flaws. Perhaps the most significant drawback of the study pertains to the text employed: an extract from *Le Petit Prince*, a choice that was later severely criticised for being very recognisably *European* French (personal communication with Professor Fred Genesee, 13th September 2006) – a factor that could have affected the evaluations of the guises particularly in their ratings of the different varieties of French (see 3.2.1). Nevertheless, despite its flaws, the Lambert *et al.* study led to significant insights into the language attitudes held by anglophone and francophone Quebecers in the late 1950s. Moreover, it sparked a substantial number of follow-up studies that investigated not only the development of language attitudes in Quebec but also the influence that the variables age, sex, socio-economic background and bilingualism have on individuals' language attitudes.

In 1960-61, Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) conducted a matched-guise experiment in order to investigate the effects that age and bilingualism have on attitudes towards English, QF and EF (see 3.2.1 for a discussion of the results pertaining to QF versus EF).¹³ The subjects of the investigation were monolingual and bilingual ten year-old francophone school children. The results showed that the French guises were rated significantly more favourably than the English guises with regard to the vast majority of traits. (The researchers did not sub-divide these into status- and solidarity-related descriptors; see Appendix A.) Interestingly, these more favourable evaluations of the French guises seemed to be mainly attributable to the monolingual subjects; the bilinguals perceived much less difference between the personalities of the speakers in their English and their French guises. Overall, Anisfeld and Lambert's findings are in sharp contrast to those of Lambert *et al.* (1960), where the ingroup had been evaluated significantly less favourably than the outgroup by the young adult francophones.

In 1963-64, Lambert *et al.* (1966) attempted to determine the time of onset of this unfavourable ingroup bias among Quebec francophones. In addition to age and bilingualism, the investigators also controlled for socio-economic background. The subjects of their matched-guise experiment were monolingual and bilingual francophone schoolgirls of different age groups; some from a lower, others from a higher socio-economic background. Male and female speakers of different age groups

¹³ Anisfeld and Lambert's (1964) attitude study was originally part of a larger project by the same authors (Peal and Lambert 1962; Elizabeth Anisfeld's maiden name was Peal) that investigated the relation of bilingualism to intelligence.

were used, but separate analyses for the two sexes and the various ages of the speakers revealed no clear pattern. While the researchers classified the evaluation traits according to integrity, competence and attractiveness (see Appendix A), no separate analyses were carried out for these different categories. The main finding of the study was that, at least among female francophones in Quebec, the tendency to downgrade representatives of their ingroup seemed to have its origin at about age twelve. Interestingly, the francophone girls from higher socio-economic backgrounds appeared to start downgrading QF speakers slightly earlier than the girls from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, the girls from higher socio-economic backgrounds displayed a significantly stronger bias in favour of the English guises than their counterparts from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Lambert *et al.*'s (1966: 318) explanation for this was that perhaps the upper middle-class girls came 'from homes where it [was] felt that the family status depends on taking the [anglophones], those who have relatively greater social and economic power in the community, as models to be emulated'. A further finding that is of interest concerns the differences in evaluations between the bilingual and monolingual subjects: once they had reached the age of 12, the bilinguals evaluated English even more positively, and QF even more negatively, than the monolinguals. This is particularly unexpected in the light of the outcome of Anisfeld and Lambert's (1964) study, where the ten year-old bilinguals had perceived less of a difference between the speakers in their English and their QF guises than the monolinguals had.

In 1962, Preston (1963) carried out a matched-guise experiment designed to investigate not only the evaluative differences between male and female subjects but also the differences in evaluations made of male and female speakers. The languages/varieties under investigation were English, QF and EF (see 3.2.1 for a discussion of the results pertaining to QF versus EF); the subjects of the study were anglophone and francophone college students. Preston sub-divided his descriptors into competence, integrity and social attractiveness traits (see Appendix A). His results indicated that both male and female anglophone subjects evaluated the female QF guises more favourably than the female English guises, particularly on most competence traits; the male anglophones also evaluated the female French guises more favourably on a number of integrity traits. Both male and female anglophones evaluated the male English guises more favourably than the male QF guises, especially regarding the majority of integrity and social attractiveness traits. The male and female

francophone subjects, on the other hand, evaluated both the male and the female English guises more favourably with regard to the majority of all competence, integrity and social attractiveness traits. The only exception was the female francophones' evaluation of the male QF guises, which was more favourable regarding most of those traits than their evaluation of the male English guises. This was the only instance where the evaluations of male and female subjects from one language group differed in the guise of the speakers they favoured. Preston (1963: 15) therefore considered his findings to 'reveal no striking listener-sex differences'. The sex of the speakers, on the other hand, did seem to make a difference to the evaluations that were made. However, since Preston could not detect a clear pattern, he concluded that further research was necessary. While not entirely conclusive, the results of this study nevertheless suggest that the francophones, and in particular the males, still downgraded QF in comparison to English.

In summary, it thus seems that in the late 1950s, during the last years of the Quebec anglophones' unchallenged domination of Montreal's economy, when English-speakers could live and work exclusively in their mother tongue while francophones were obliged to learn English in order to be able to advance economically (see 1.3.1), both anglophones and francophones unsurprisingly had more positive attitudes towards English than towards QF. The anglophones mainly evaluated English more favourably on the status dimension while the francophones, internalising and amplifying the negative stereotypes held of their group, had more positive attitudes towards English on both the status and the solidarity dimension (Lambert *et al.* 1960). The only trait on which the francophones evaluated their ingroup more favourably was 'kindness', which could be seen to represent the origins of the covert prestige (evidenced by positive evaluations on the solidarity dimension) that QF was to gain later on. In the early 1960s, during the Quiet Revolution but before any pro-French language legislation had been passed (see 1.3.2), both anglophone and francophone Quebecers were still found to exhibit more positive attitudes towards English than towards QF (Preston 1963). Furthermore, during the 1960s, the influence of the variables age, sex, socio-economic background and bilingualism was investigated (Anisfeld and Lambert 1964; Lambert *et al.* 1966; Preston 1963). It appears that the onset of the negative ingroup bias among – at least female – Quebec francophones is around the age of 12. No clear and strong pattern was found for the influence of respondents' sex on language attitudes. However, it appears that francophones from higher socio-economic

backgrounds downgrade their ingroup even more strongly than those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Based on the outcomes of the investigations in the Quebec context, the exact manner in which bilingualism affects individuals' language attitudes remains unclear.

3.1.2 Attitudes since 1977

Most of the research that was conducted in the 1970s in order to investigate anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English and French was based on the principles of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT; see 2.3.1). In this context, it should be remembered that empirical investigations such as that of the Gendron commission (see 1.3.3; see also e.g. Taylor *et al.* 1978) had shown that, at least up until the mid-1970s, the position of Quebec francophones as 'economic underdogs' relative to the anglophone minority in the province had led to very one-sided language use and accommodation norms: while anglophones usually maintained English when interacting with francophone interlocutors, the latter mostly had to switch to English when interacting with anglophones (Bourhis 1984: 35).

Perhaps the most pertinent investigations in this context were those conducted by Richard Bourhis and his associates in order to explore the impact of language policies such as Bill 101 on self-reports of language use and actual language use in encounters between anglophone and francophone Quebecers. As explained in section 1.3.4, the primary aim of the Charter of the French Language was to improve the status and use of French relative to English in public domains such as schooling, administration, at work and in retail business, as well as in the linguistic landscape. Bourhis (1984: 36) notes that

[o]fficially at least, Bill 101 was not designed to regulate French/English language use in private domains such as conversations between individuals in the home, with friends, or in anonymous encounters in the street. However, the architects of Bill 101 posited that vigorous legislation in favor of French in public settings would trigger a 'carry-over effect' in favor of French use in private settings such as the home, with friends, and on the street between strangers.

Bourhis' survey as well as his field experiments were designed to test this carry-over effect, from immediately after Bill 101 had been implemented up until two decades later. The survey (presented in Bourhis 1983) was conducted among anglophone and

francophone university students in early November 1977, that is, two and a half months after the Quebec National Assembly had passed Bill 101. Amongst other things, the questionnaire required the subjects to report the type of language strategy they used in encounters with outgroup interlocutors, both before the promulgation of Bill 101 and at the time the study was conducted. The results relating to the post Bill 101 period revealed that the anglophones reported to use French much more than the francophones claimed to use English. Moreover, the francophones claimed to be quite likely to maintain French when being addressed in English, whereas the anglophones claimed to only be moderately likely to maintain English when addressed in French. When they were asked to describe their language use prior to the implementation of Bill 101, both anglophone and francophone respondents reported to have been quite likely to maintain their own language. The outcome of the survey thus suggests that the francophones' pattern of language use had remained the same while that of the anglophones had shifted, resulting in more frequent use of French. As Bourhis (1983: 174) points out, '[t]he trends in favour of the use of French by [the anglophones] may reflect their willingness to accommodate to the "French fact" in Quebec now that legislative measures have established that French is the official language'. Nevertheless Bourhis admits that these findings have to be viewed with caution since questionnaire results are very likely to be biased by what is considered to be socially desirable (see also 2.3.2).

The objective of Bourhis' field experiments was to corroborate the survey results presented in Bourhis (1983) by means of new, behavioural data. He employed a methodology that he referred to as a 'face-to-face version of the matched-guise technique' (Moïse and Bourhis 1994: 93). The subjects of the first field experiment, which was conducted in 1977 (reported in Bourhis 1984), were approached by an experimenter in either one of the two main underground shopping malls in downtown Montreal and asked to provide directions to the nearest metro station. To lend the research more scope, the later field experiments conducted by Bourhis and his associates (the 1979 study, also reported in Bourhis 1984; the 1991 study, reported in Moïse and Bourhis 1994; and the 1997 study, reported in Bourhis *et al.* 2007) were extended to include francophone and anglophone university students, who were approached on campus and asked for directions to the university bookshop. (As expected, the subjects on campus were found to be much younger than those downtown.) After each encounter, the experimenter noted the language(s) in which the

subjects had provided the information. Subjects whose accent revealed that they were not native speakers of either (Canadian) English or QF were excluded from the study. The researchers attempted to reduce the impact that lack of linguistic skills could have had on the results by counting even single words or phrases uttered in the outgroup language (such as 'Hello' or '*Bonjour*') as instances of convergence. Since the subjects did not know that they were taking part in a research project, it can be assumed that their responses were candid.

The 1977 field study was carried out shortly after the afore-mentioned survey, that is, a few months after the promulgation of Bill 101. The results of this field experiment showed that of those subjects approached in the outgroup language, 95% of francophones converged to English while only 60% of anglophones provided the requested information in French. There are notable discrepancies between these findings and those of the survey, where, it seems, the anglophones had over-reported their tendency to converge to French and the francophones had under-reported their convergence to English. As Bourhis (1984: 40) pointed out, '[t]hese contrasting results are an indication that in sociolinguistics as in social psychology, self-reports are not always good predictors of actual behavior'. The accommodation patterns of the anglophone and francophone subjects of the 1977 field study suggest 'that the English language maintain[ed] its historically dominant status position in spite of recent government efforts to increase the status of French in Quebec through Bill 101' (Bourhis 1984: 40).

Bourhis' next study was carried out in October 1979, approximately two years after Bill 101 had been passed (also reported in Bourhis 1984). The results showed that of those subjects approached in the outgroup language in the downtown shopping malls, 100% of francophones converged to English while only 70% of anglophones converged to French. The subjects approached in the outgroup language on campus, on the other hand, were almost equally likely to switch to the language of their interlocutor: 84% of the francophones and 83% of the anglophones converged to the outgroup language. According to Bourhis, these findings were an indication that the younger segment of the Quebec anglophone population was becoming inclined to accommodate to francophone interlocutors, while the older segment of the province's anglophone population was adapting less quickly to the new provisions in favour of French in Quebec. The high rates of convergence to English obtained with the French-

speaking subjects were seen to suggest that Quebec francophones in general still adhered to older language-switching norms in favour of English – possibly because ‘on some dimensions of comparisons such as language status, [francophone] majority-group members still [felt] inferior to [anglophone] minority-group members’ (Bourhis 1984: 45).

Also in 1979, Genesee and Bourhis (1982) conducted an experiment that employed what the researchers referred to as the ‘segmented dialogue technique’ (Genesee and Bourhis 1982: 4) or a ‘dialogue version of the matched-guise technique’ (Bourhis *et al.* 2007: 203) in order to investigate evaluative reactions to language accommodation. For this study, recordings were made of mock interchanges between shop clerks and clients. In these content-controlled dialogues, the clerks and clients used different combinations of QF and English language switches across speaker turns. The respondent sample consisted of francophone and anglophone secondary school students, some of whom were more and some less bilingual. They were asked to rate their impressions of the relationship between the clients and clerks across speaker turns, and to evaluate the personalities of the speakers based on their linguistic behaviour. The results of Genesee and Bourhis’ study were complex, showing, *inter alia*, that the subjects’ basis for evaluating the interlocutors’ language choices shifted during conversations, and that their evaluations of the speakers depended upon a complex and dynamic interaction of factors including situational norms, socio-cultural status, ingroup favouritism and interpersonal accommodation.¹⁴ The outcome of this investigation also suggested that, contrary to the researchers’ expectations, the more bilingual anglophones did not rate the use of French more positively than the relatively monolingual anglophones. However, the most pertinent finding in this context was that at least on occasion, the francophone subjects evaluated the QF speaker and/or use of the French language more positively than the English speaker and/or use of the English language. The researchers interpreted this change in attitudinal reaction among the francophones as ‘part of a much larger sociopolitical change in the province of Quebec’, in line with the provisions of the Charter of the French Language, while they considered the francophones’ preferential ratings of English over French at other times as attesting to ‘the lingering effects of English language dominance in Quebec’

¹⁴ These results were supported by the findings of a study that the same researchers conducted in Quebec City in the early 1980s, and that employed the same methodology (Genesee and Bourhis 1988). cf. also Giles *et al.* (1973), whose laboratory-type experiment had demonstrated that the more speakers accommodated to their interlocutors, the more favourably the interlocutors perceived them – and the more likely the interlocutors were also to respond in an accommodating manner.

(Genesee and Bourhis 1982: 24). Yet, as Bourhis (1984: 45, emphasis in original text) points out with reference to his 1979 field study, while the francophones seemed to begin *rating* French speakers more favourably than English speakers, it seemed that with regard to actual language *behaviour*, '[Quebec francophones] may still react to [Quebec anglophones] as members of a linguistically superior group with whom they feel they *should* speak English'.

In 1984, Genesee and Holobow (1989) conducted a study that sought to replicate, with modifications, that of Lambert *et al.* (1960). The subjects of this matched-guise experiment were anglophone and francophone secondary school students; the languages/varieties under investigation were English, QF and EF (see section 3.2.2 for a discussion of the results pertaining to QF versus EF). Genesee and Holobow's results revealed that the anglophones rated the English guises significantly more favourably than the QF guises with regard to all solidarity traits as well as a number of status traits (see Appendix A for a list of the traits that were used). The francophones rated the English guises more favourably than the QF guises on all status traits; however, while they also evaluated the English guises more favourably on one of the solidarity traits, they saw no significant differences between the guises on the remainder of the solidarity descriptors. These findings indicate that certain aspects of intergroup perceptions in Quebec had changed significantly between the late 1950s and the mid-1980s while other aspects had remained stable. Change was most evident on the solidarity dimension: compared with 1958-59, both anglophone and francophone subjects rated speakers of their ingroup more favourably in terms of the solidarity traits, which entailed a shift from relative neutrality to ingroup preference among the anglophones, and a shift from outgroup favouritism to relative neutrality among the francophones. The researchers suggested an interpretation of these findings within the changing socio-political context of Quebec, where by the mid-1980s, French had come to enjoy a certain hegemony while English had experienced a relative decline in this respect (see 1.3.5). Genesee and Holobow speculated that the anglophones' preferential evaluations of their ingroup speakers might be the defensive reaction of a threatened minority group, while the neutral evaluations of the francophones could reflect a sense of greater security. Interestingly, in contrast to the significant shifts of evaluations on the solidarity dimension, there appeared to have been relatively little change on the status dimension. As in the late 1950s, the francophones consistently downgraded the speakers in their QF guises and the anglophones downgraded them

somewhat relative to the speakers in their English guises. One possible explanation suggested by Genesee and Holobow (1989: 35) is that the francophones' negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension may be 'an inherent and pervasive aspect of their ingroup identity'. (However, this would fail to account for the *anglophones*' negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension.) The researchers also took into account the possibility that their findings in terms of the status dimension could be a reflection of the fact that there had, by the mid-1980s, been relatively little significant change in the actual socio-economic status of anglophones and francophones in Quebec: 'within Quebec itself there [was] demographic information to suggest that the status of French Canadians [was] still relatively lower than that of English Canadians' (Genesee and Holobow 1989: 34). (This, on the other hand, would account for both the francophones' *and* the anglophones' negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension.) Genesee and Holobow (1989: 36) concluded as follows:

the considerable language planning efforts by the Quebec government, and other noteworthy socio-political changes that have occurred in the province, have apparently been sufficient to change English and French Canadians' intergroup perceptions along the solidarity dimension but not along the status dimension. [...] The socio-political changes that have occurred may have been effective in changing perceptions of solidarity because of their high symbolic value, e.g. language laws and public use of French only. [...] More significant socio-economic changes that are sustained over time may be required before French Canadians come to see themselves as of equal status to English Canadians.

Genesee and Holobow's (1989: 36) stipulation that 'it is easier to change a group's perception of ingroup solidarity than of intergroup status' is supported by researchers such as Ryan *et al.* (1982: 8), who posit that the status that pertains to a language/variety is much more stable than the way it is evaluated along the solidarity dimension (see 2.2).

In the spring of 1991, Moïse and Bourhis (1994) conducted a third field experiment to further explore the carry-over effect of Bill 101 on the language accommodation strategies of Quebec anglophones and francophones. The methodology was the same as that of the two previous field studies described above. Additionally, in both the 1991 and the 1997 study (which will be discussed below), subjects who had been approached by the experimenter in their mother tongue were also asked in which language they would have replied, had they been approached in the outgroup language. As Bourhis *et al.* (2007: 214) explain, '[s]elf-reports of hypothetical language choices

provide an indirect measure of what respondents consider to be socially appropriate language switching behavior'. Moïse and Bourhis' findings revealed that of those subjects approached in the outgroup language in the downtown shopping malls, 84% of francophones converged to English (compared to 100% in 1979) and 65% of anglophones converged to French (compared to 70% in 1979). Of those approached in the outgroup language on campus, 80% of francophones converged to English (compared to 84% in 1979) and 77% of anglophones converged to French (compared to 83% in 1979). As in 1979, the anglophones thus converged less than the francophones, and the anglophones on campus were more likely to converge than those downtown. Yet, unlike previously, the francophones on campus were less likely to converge than their downtown counterparts. No explanation for this was offered by the researchers. However, regardless of the possible reason for this, it is noteworthy that both the anglophone and the francophone subjects in 1991 converged less than those in 1979. Based on Sachdev and Bourhis (1991), Moïse and Bourhis (1994: 104) pointed out that particularly the linguistic behaviour of the (older) downtown anglophones seemed more characteristic of that of a high status minority the members of which feel little need to accommodate to outgroup interlocutors, than that of that of a subordinate minority that enjoys little status.¹⁵ However, the anglophones' behaviour could also have been the result of the linguistic tensions caused by the passage of Bill 178, which had been passed in December 1988 (see 1.3.4). According to Moïse and Bourhis (1994: 92), linguistic tensions often polarise intergroup relations, and this polarisation could have manifested itself in an increased rate of language maintenance, both among the francophones and the anglophones. For the latter, language maintenance could have become a strategy of collective affirmation of their identity in their exchanges with francophone Quebecers. This would be in accordance with the rhetoric of public figures such as Reed Scowen, former president of the Alliance Quebec (see 1.3.4), who stated, for example, that

¹⁵ In a study investigating the effects of status, power and group size on intergroup behaviours, Sachdev and Bourhis (1991) found that both independently and in combination, these three factors had a very strong impact. Overall, the results of this study suggest that high status group members tend to be more discriminatory and less parity oriented than low status group members, and that dominant group members are likely to behave in a more discriminatory and less parity oriented fashion than subordinate group members. Dominant high status minorities were found to be 'highly discriminatory and were exceptional in displaying no parity whatsoever towards the outgroup subordinate low status majority' (Sachdev and Bourhis 1991: 20).

English Quebecers should insist, politely but firmly, on their right as consumers, in the stores and on the telephone, to be served in their own language, and to use their own language at work. We should not feel the least bit guilty about speaking English. We should use and enjoy the language and encourage others to speak it as well. [...] Quebec does not require a law to ensure the use of English on the streets of our province. It will be there if people insist, politely but firmly, on using it. (Scowen 1991: 106-107)

The fact that the francophones used maintenance as a strategy more often in 1991 than they had done in 1979 could be a consequence of the cumulative effect of the language laws in favour of the French language that had been passed since 1977 (Moïse and Bourhis 1994: 96). Nevertheless, many francophones still converged to English, a behaviour typical of low status majorities (Moïse and Bourhis 1994: 104; based on Sachdev and Bourhis 1991, see footnote 15). It is interesting to note that the francophones, both downtown and on campus, under-reported the tendency to converge to English (72% and 50% respectively, versus the 84% and 80% who actually converged) while the anglophones over-reported the tendency to converge to French (87% of downtown anglophones said they would converge to French if that was the language in which they were asked for directions, versus the 65% who actually converged; regrettably, Moïse and Bourhis did not mention the hypothetical convergence rate of the campus anglophones). The researchers interpreted these results as indicating what the subjects considered to be the most socially desirable behaviour at the time.

In 1997, twenty years after the adoption of Bill 101, Bourhis *et al.* (2007; results previously presented in Amiot and Bourhis 1999) conducted their fourth field study in Montreal. The results showed that of those subjects approached in the outgroup language in the downtown shopping malls, 95% of francophones converged to English (compared to 84% in 1991) and 100% of anglophones converged to French (compared to 65% in 1991). Of those approached in the outgroup language on campus, 100% of francophones converged to English (compared to 80% in 1991) and 93% of anglophones converged to French (compared to 77% in 1991). Furthermore, the results revealed no discrepancy between both anglophones' and francophones' hypothetical and actual convergence rates: participants accosted in their mother tongue were quite realistic when making judgements about their hypothetical accommodation behaviour. This is in contrast to the results of the 1991 field study (Moïse and Bourhis 1994), where the francophones had had the tendency to underestimate their likelihood of converging to English and the anglophones had tended to overestimate their

hypothetical rate of convergence to French (at least relative to the actual results obtained with the francophone and anglophone subjects of that study). Bourhis *et al.* (2007: 217) interpreted these findings as suggesting that ‘after twenty years of implementation, Bill 101 may have had its intended effects of improving the status and use of French by Quebec Anglophones’.

That both Anglophones and Francophones overwhelmingly converged and declared their intention to converge to each other’s linguistic needs in the 1997 field study suggests that such intercultural encounters are being emptied of their divisive intergroup symbolism and may become more neutral and functional, at least as regards language choices in private face-to-face encounters between anonymous Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors. (Bourhis *et al.* 2007: 217)

However, an alternative interpretation of Bourhis *et al.*’s results is that the high proportion of francophones converging to English attests to ‘the enduring status of English relative to French in Quebec’ since even in private encounters with strangers, francophone Quebecers ‘remain very sensitive to the linguistic needs of their Quebec Anglophone compatriots’ (Bourhis *et al.* 2007: 216).

In 1995-96, Laur (2001) employed questionnaires in order to investigate various language issues, including attitudes towards English, QF and EF (see 3.2.2 for a discussion of the results pertaining to QF versus EF). Her findings showed that sex, age and socio-economic background had very little direct effect on the respondents’ language attitudes, and that their influence did not appear to be systematic. Interestingly, both anglophones and francophones were found to rate QF very favourably on the solidarity dimension. Laur (2001: 282) interpreted this as a manifestation of Quebecers’ perception of French (rather than English) as the common public language:

The favourable evaluations that many of the anglophones made [of QF] on the solidarity traits could indicate their acceptance of the local variety as the family language, the language of the neighbourhood and of communication. From this perspective, this language of communication would thus have an integrative function in the Montreal community.

This appears to corroborate part of the conclusions Bourhis *et al.* (2007) drew from their data collected in 1997, and would suggest that the efforts of language planners to encourage an affective attachment to Quebec society as well as QF among non-

francophones (see 1.3.6) had been at least partly successful. However, Laur's subjects rated QF significantly less positively on the status dimension, and this tendency was particularly pronounced among the anglophones. English, on the other hand, was evaluated very favourably on the status dimension and it seemed that the francophones attributed even more status to it than the anglophones did. Regrettably, no information was provided concerning perceptions of English on the solidarity dimension.¹⁶

In 2002, Byers-Heinlein (2002) conducted a follow-up study of Genesee and Holobow (1989) in which she investigated anglophone and allophone college students' attitudes towards English, QF and EF by means of a matched-guise experiment (see 3.2.2 for a discussion of the results pertaining to QF versus EF; see 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 for a discussion of the results pertaining to the allophones). While the anglophones in Genesee and Holobow's study had evaluated the speakers more favourably in their English guises in terms of all solidarity traits and a number of status traits, Byers-Heinlein's results showed that her anglophone subjects' evaluations of English and QF were equally favourable on both the status and the solidarity dimension (see Appendix A for the traits used). The author attributed this shift in the anglophones' attitudes to the changes in the socio-political climate of the province that had occurred between 1984 and 2002, and especially the fact that the objectively measured socio-economic status of Quebec francophones had increased. Byers-Heinlein also speculated that the findings might be explained in terms of a renewed sense of security among the anglophones: the changes that are thought to have caused the insecurity among Genesee and Holobow's anglophones had already occurred and there were no further imminent threats to the English-speaking community in Quebec. However, it should be noted that Byers-Heinlein's results (those pertaining to English versus French and those pertaining to QF versus EF, among the anglophones as well as the allophones; see also 3.2.2, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3) were not only unexpected but also rather different from the outcomes of other studies conducted at approximately the same time, such as Laur (2001), conducted in 1995-96, and Laur (2008), carried out in 2004 (see below). Since Byers-Heinlein only used a very small subject sample (18 anglophones and 26 allophones), it is possible that her findings are not entirely reliable.

¹⁶ This is a simplified account of Laur's (2001) results; *inter alia*, she also found that in many cases, the main factor to affect perceptions was the subjects' identification in terms of categories such as anglophone, francophone, Canadian or *Québécois* – which, in turn, appeared to be determined by factors including not only mother tongue but also home language and minority group membership.

Like Byers-Heinlein, Fuga (2002) also conducted a follow-up study of Genesee and Holobow (1989) in which she investigated attitudes towards English, QF and EF by means of a matched-guise experiments (see 3.2.2 for a discussion of the results pertaining to QF versus EF). However, unlike Byers-Heinlein, Fuga collected her data among francophones college students. The francophones in Genesee and Holobow's study had evaluated the English guises more positively than the QF guises on one of the solidarity traits but had perceived no significant differences between the guises on the remaining solidarity traits. Similarly, Fuga's subjects rated the English and the QF guises equally favourably on all solidarity traits (see Appendix A for a list of the traits that were used). Furthermore, like the francophones in 1984, those in 2002 rated the speakers more favourably in their English guises than in their QF guises on all status traits. It thus appears that francophone Quebecers maintained their neutrality on the solidarity dimension as well as continuing to downgrade their ingroup on the status dimension. As a possible explanation for the latter, Fuga cites Genesee and Holobow's theory of the francophones' negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension as 'an inherent and pervasive aspect of their ingroup identity'. However, Fuga also points out that despite the significant socio-political changes in Quebec, there was, even in the early 21st century, still an objective basis for rating the anglophone group higher on status traits. As an example she cites the higher percentages of anglophones with a college degree and/or some form of higher education.

In 2004, Laur (2008) also conducted a matched-guise experiment in order to investigate Quebecers' attitudes towards English and QF. In order to broaden the scope of her study, Laur not only used anglophone, francophone and allophone subjects of both sexes, from various age groups and from different socio-economic backgrounds, but she also employed both a male and a female speaker (the previous matched-guise experiments, apart from Preston 1963, had only used male speakers) (see 3.3.2 for a discussion of Laur's results pertaining to the allophones). The respondents' sex did not influence their attitudes, and while both age and socio-economic background did appear to have an effect, this was only slight and revealed no clear patterns. Laur subdivided the evaluation traits into status, solidarity and competence descriptors (see Appendix A for traits). Overall, her findings suggest that there is a strong correlation between a speaker's sex and the language they use: both anglophones and francophones rated the female speaker significantly more favourably in her QF guise on both the solidarity and the competence traits; on the status descriptors, no difference

was seen between her English and her QF guises. The male speaker, on the other hand, was evaluated more positively in his English guise by both the anglophone and the francophone subjects – on all three types of traits, but particularly so on the status descriptors. As an explanation, Laur stressed that for almost 300 years, English has played an important role in Quebec: it is the language that is associated with the military victory of the English over the French, and with the ensuing socio-economic dominance of the anglophones over the francophones in the province. Furthermore, she pointed out the importance of English as the global *lingua franca*. Laur thus reasoned that it is not surprising that English should still be perceived as a prestigious language in Quebec; yet she also emphasised the importance of further investigating the differential evaluations made of male and female speakers, and the possible reasons for these. Laur concluded that only limited generalisations could be made on the basis of findings obtained by means of matched-guise experiments that only use male speakers.

By the time all the studies described in this section were conducted, Quebec's language legislation had changed drastically compared to what it had been like before the 1970s. Most significantly, in 1976, the PQ had been elected into the provincial government and had, in 1977, introduced Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, which had made French the language of Quebec's legislature and courts, civil administration, semi-public agencies, commerce and business, public signage as well as education (see 1.3.4). Nevertheless, the results of Bourhis' survey and field experiments in the late 1970s (Bourhis 1983; Bourhis 1984) revealed a tendency for anglophones to over-report and for francophones to under-report their likelihood of converging to the outgroup language – in all likelihood a reflection of social desirability biases. While in both 1977 and 1979, the anglophones were less likely to converge to French than the francophones were to converge to English, there was a slightly higher tendency for the anglophones to converge in 1979 than in 1977, which could be seen to indicate a certain improvement in their attitudes towards French. The francophones, however, remained overwhelmingly likely to converge to English. Thus, while the results of the segmented dialogue experiment in 1979 (Genesee and Bourhis 1982) showed Quebec francophones *rating* representatives of their ingroup more favourably than those of the outgroup (at least under particular circumstances), the francophones' language *behaviour* at that same time suggests that they still reacted to

Quebec anglophones as members of a superior group and therefore adhered to older language-switching norms in favour of English.

As mentioned in section 1.3.5, the early 1980s saw, *inter alia*, the re-election of the PQ provincial government in 1981, and as a result of the language legislation introduced by the PQ, by the mid-1980s, Montreal's linguistic dynamics had been so radically transformed in favour of French that the francophone community was said to have acquired a sense of 'relative linguistic security' (Monnier 1983: 9). It is thus not surprising that in 1984, the francophones were found to have shifted from outgroup favouritism to relative ingroup/outgroup neutrality on the solidarity dimension. Quebec anglophones, on the other hand, had undergone a shift from relative ingroup/outgroup neutrality to ingroup favouritism on the solidarity dimension – possibly the defensive reaction of a threatened minority group as a result of the (successful) challenge of their dominant position in the province. However, with regard to status, anglophones and francophones still had more positive attitudes towards English than towards QF (Genesee and Holobow 1989). This could have been due to the fact that, by the mid-1980s, the changes in the relative socio-economic status of anglophones and francophones in Quebec had not actually been that significant. A further possibility is that perceptions of intergroup status are generally more stable than those of ingroup solidarity.

As also explained in section 1.3.5, the mid- to late 1980s were a period of renewed linguistic tensions: the PQ lost the 1985 provincial elections to the Parti libéral du Québec, and both anglophones and francophones were displeased by Robert Bourassa's new language policy. Quebec francophones held mass demonstrations in the streets of Montreal and there were even some instances of linguistic violence – while on the part of the anglophones, public figures such as Reed Scowen were propagating the use of English in the streets of Quebec. It appears that these linguistic tensions resulted in a polarisation of intergroup relations which manifested itself in an increased rate of language maintenance, for in 1991, both anglophones and francophones were less likely to converge to the outgroup language than in 1979 (Moïse and Bourhis 1994). By contrast, in 1997, that is, twenty years after the adoption of Bill 101, almost all anglophones and francophones were found to converge to the outgroup language, and there was no discrepancy between subjects' reported behaviour and actual behaviour (Bourhis *et al.* 2007). These latter findings could be

seen to indicate mutually positive attitudes between anglophone and francophone Quebecers. However, the high rate of convergence among the francophones could also be interpreted as attesting to the enduring status of English in Quebec. The results of the survey conducted at approximately the same time support this, suggesting that while anglophones and francophones had positive attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension, they still attributed more status to English than to QF (Laur 2001).

By the early 21st century, Quebec francophones were found to be maintaining both their neutrality with regard to English and QF on the solidarity dimension as well as their more positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension (Fuga 2002). The results of one study indicated that Quebec anglophones had shifted to equally favourable attitudes towards English and French on both the status and the solidarity dimension (Byers-Heinlein 2002). However, these findings were not only unexpected but also rather different from the outcomes of other investigations conducted at approximately the same time, and as a result of the very small subject sample used in this study, they are likely not to be entirely reliable. In the most recent investigation of language attitudes in Quebec (Laur 2008), it emerged that the sex of a speaker is an important factor in the formation of language attitudes. Both anglophones and francophones in this study rated female speakers more positively when they used QF, but they evaluated male speakers more favourably – and particularly so on the status dimension – when they used English. It is unclear why not only the anglophones but also the francophones in this study displayed more favourable attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension. The findings of other research conducted at a similar time (that is, Fuga 2002; see above) do not support this notion. Further research is necessary to ascertain the nature of francophones' attitudes towards English and French on the solidarity dimension. With regard to the status dimension, it is possible that the persistently more positive attitudes towards English among both anglophones and francophones (as documented by Fuga 2002 and Laur 2008) were due to the fact that perceptions of intergroup status are generally more stable than those of ingroup solidarity (see above; see also 1.3.5). However, they could also be a reflection of the continuing importance of English. While the attraction of English at that time no longer lay in the fact that it was the language of the traditionally advantaged anglophone community in Quebec, it was nevertheless still the language of social and economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States, and had attained

high status as the global *lingua franca* of our times (see 1.3.6). Further research is necessary to investigate possible changes in anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English and French on the status dimension.

3.2 Anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French

This section pertains to anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards the variety of French spoken in Quebec (QF) as opposed to French from France (EF). A number of the studies discussed here were already mentioned above, in section 3.1, since they investigated both, attitudes towards English versus French as well as evaluations of QF versus EF. The findings presented here are only those pertaining to QF versus EF.

3.2.1 Attitudes prior to 1977

As mentioned in section 3.1.1, amongst other things, Lambert *et al.* (1960) investigated attitudes towards different varieties of French. Two of their speakers used (standard) QF, one broad QF and one EF (as well as English). It was found that neither the anglophones nor the francophones evaluated the EF speaker as negatively as they evaluated the QF speakers. Particularly on the status traits, the subjects rated the EF speaker much more favourably. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the broad QF speaker was downgraded even more than the other QF speakers by both the anglophone and the francophone subjects alike. Similar trends had also become apparent in the Lambert *et al.* (1960) pilot study. Lambert *et al.* did not offer an interpretation of these results, noting instead that further research with more speakers of each variety of French was necessary.

The matched-guise experiment conducted by Anisfeld and Lambert's (1964) in 1960-61 (see 3.1.1) employed two speakers who used QF, one who spoke EF and one who spoke both QF and EF (as well as English). In terms of their evaluations of French and English, the subjects of this study, that is, ten year-old girls, were found to have not yet acquired the unfavourable bias against French that had been found among the young adult francophones of Lambert *et al.*'s (1960) investigation. Anisfeld and Lambert's patterns for QF and EF were parallel to those found for French and English: again, the bilingual francophone girls perceived only a few differences between ingroup and outgroup speakers, that is, in this case between the QF and the EF speakers respectively. The monolingual francophone girls, on the other hand, evaluated the QF

speakers significantly more favourably than the EF speakers on the majority of traits. Regrettably, the descriptors were not sub-divided into status- and solidarity-related traits.

In his 1962 study, Preston (1963; see also 3.1.1) investigated, *inter alia*, the differences in young adult Quebecers' evaluations of QF and EF. Two male and two female speakers used QF, two males and two females EF (and English). Preston's findings showed that both anglophones and francophones evaluated both male and female EF speakers much more favourably than male and female QF speakers (in comparison to the corresponding English guises of those speakers). As mentioned earlier, Preston regrettably did not conduct separate analyses for the different types of traits. He also fails to offer an interpretation of these results.

In the early 1970s, d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973) conducted a study that employed both a questionnaire and a voice-evaluation experiment in order to investigate francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF, broad QF and EF. The subjects of the study were teachers, students and factory workers from Montreal, Quebec City and a small town in rural Quebec. No significant differences emerged between the subjects from the different locations or those from the different occupational groups. Overall, the results of the voice-evaluation study suggested that the subjects differentiated more clearly between speakers from Europe and those from Quebec than they did between QF and broad QF speakers. The EF speakers were consistently rated more favourably on all traits than either the QF or the broad QF speakers (see Appendix A for the traits that were used). The findings obtained by means of the questionnaire, however, were more varied. On the one hand, the majority of subjects saw the French spoken on Radio-Canada at that time, that is, a variety quite close to standard EF (see 1.3.6), as the prestige model for French in Quebec. On the other hand, the subjects reported to be moderately, but not entirely, satisfied with their own speech style. As d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973: 11-12) explain, '[t]he fact that the [subjects] were not more satisfied with their own speech style may reflect accurately the feelings of people from these social strata. It may, on the other hand, be a consequence of the various speech improvement movements which have tended to make French Canadians self-conscious about their speech style' (see e.g. 1.3.2). It is also noteworthy that the subjects refused to accept the clichés that QF is not as nice as EF, and that Parisian French is the best French.

Support for d'Anglejan and Tucker's (1973) general findings comes from a study by Bourhis *et al.* (1975), which had the aim of investigating listeners' reactions to different types of shift in speech style. The experiment employed a slightly altered version of the matched-guise technique as well as a questionnaire. The subjects, who were all secondary school students, were informed that an athlete from Quebec had recently been successful in a Pan American diving competition, and that they would get to hear her in two taped radio interviews. In one interview, a sports commentator from France would talk to her, and in the other, a commentator from Quebec would conduct the discussion. The experiment was designed so that different groups of subjects would hear different versions of the interview with the commentator from France. In one version, the QF-speaking athlete accommodated to the EF-interviewer by converging upwards, that is, by switching from QF to EF. In the second version, the athlete diverged downwards, that is, she switched from QF to broad QF; and in the third version, she maintained QF when speaking to the EF-interviewer. In the interview conducted by the commentator from Quebec, both the commentator and the athlete spoke QF. In addition to evaluating the speaker on a number of traits, the subjects were also asked if they had perceived a difference in speech style between the athlete and the interviewer; and if so, why they thought the athlete had spoken the way she did, and if they would have changed style had they been in her place. The results of Bourhis *et al.*'s survey revealed that the majority of the subjects had perceived the speaker's shifts and had identified their directions (that is, upwards to EF and downwards to broad QF) correctly. Most subjects had stated that in their opinion, the athlete had converged to EF in order to increase her perceived status in the eyes of the interviewer. However, the majority of subjects claimed that had they been in her place, they would have maintained QF since convergence to EF would have entailed 'losing their Québécois [*sic.*] identity' (Bourhis *et al.* 1975: 63). Yet the results of the voice-evaluations revealed that the athlete was consistently perceived as more intelligent and educated when she converged to EF than when she maintained QF, and that she was considered least intelligent and educated when she diverged to broad QF. However, contrary to the researchers' expectations, the subjects' evaluations of her remained the same on all other traits. It had been expected, for example, that she would be perceived as more trustworthy when diverging to broad QF.¹⁷ Bourhis *et al.* (1975: 68-69)

¹⁷ Bourhis *et al.* (1975) conducted a similar experiment in the Welsh setting, with RP, Welsh and broad Welsh as the language varieties under investigation. The results obtained in this experiment were similar to those of the Quebec study, that is, the speaker was consistently perceived as more intelligent and

concluded that the reasons for this ‘are difficult to explain at the present time and are worthy of further investigation. It could be that [broad QF] is not considered the most favourable style of speech in which to emphasize one’s Québécois [*sic.*] identity and perhaps [QF] is considered a more appropriate medium for communication’. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the majority of subjects claimed that had they been in the athlete’s position, they would have maintained QF rather than diverging to broad QF.

The general findings of d’Anglejan and Tucker (1973) and Bourhis *et al.* (1975) are also supported by the results of Rémillard *et al.* (1973), who conducted a study among secondary school students with stimulus materials consisting of several QF lexical items and phrases as well as their EF equivalents, recordings of which were played to the subjects. All subjects were then asked to fill in a questionnaire in order to determine their perception of the various words and phrases as correct or incorrect, and their reported tendency to use each of the items in social situations ranging from informal to formal: at home, at school, at work, in public, and in writing. The results showed that overall, the EF stimulus materials were perceived to be significantly more correct than the QF ones. The subjects also reported a tendency to use both EF and QF lexical items and phrases in more informal situations, whereas they claimed to be less likely to use QF in more formal situations.

The findings presented in this section, obtained mainly by means of indirect methods of attitude elicitation, suggest that from the late 1950s until at least the mid-1970s, both anglophone and francophone Quebecers had more positive attitudes towards EF than towards QF, and that their attitudes towards QF were particularly negative on the status dimension. Among francophones, the onset of this negative ingroup bias appears to have been after the age of ten but before adulthood. It is unknown from what age anglophones began to downgrade QF compared to EF. While none of the researchers offer a more detailed explanation for the overwhelmingly negative attitudes towards QF, these attitudes can easily be accounted for by the monocentric ideology that continues to surround the French language (see 1.3.2). Lambert *et al.*’s (1960) study was carried out in the late 1950s, when the myth of French Canadian Patois was still in people’s minds (see 1.3.1). Preston (1963) and Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) conducted

educated in the RP guise. However, in Wales, the speaker *was* considered kinder and more trustworthy when diverging to broad Welsh.

their investigations in the 1960s, that is, during the most intense phase of the debate about *joual*, at a time when the Office de la langue française was strongly promoting alignment with EF and France was exporting EF as the prestige norm across *la francophonie*. It was not until 1977 that the Association québécoise des professeurs de français began the debate about an autonomous and legitimate standard for QF, and during the early 1970s, when d'Anglejan and Tucker, Rémillard *et al.* (1973) and Bourhis *et al.* (1975) collected their data, the French language was thus clearly still surrounded by a monocentric ideology with EF as the one and only standard. In this context, it is not at all surprising that Quebecers in the 1950s, the 1960s and the early 1970s exhibited significantly more positive attitudes towards EF than towards QF.

The findings of the language attitudes studies discussed above naturally raised the question whether there was an objective justification for Quebecers' preference for EF over QF. In the early and mid-1970s, Giles and his associates therefore set out to test the relative merits of what they referred to as the 'imposed norm' versus the 'inherent value' hypotheses. The imposed norm hypothesis claims that 'a standard dialect or accent attains its prestige directly from the status of the social group which happened, by chance, to speak in this manner' (Giles *et al.* 1974: 406). The hypothesis therefore suggests that all accents and dialects are in fact equally pleasing to the ear and that 'the elevation of a code to the prestige position is likely to have been a cultural or historical accident' (Giles *et al.* 1979: 591). The inherent value hypothesis, on the other hand, posits that the adoption of a standard or prestige form *is* based on linguistic and aesthetic considerations, 'that a dialect or accent is elevated to its prestige position owing to the fact that it is inherently the most pleasing form of that language' (Giles *et al.* 1974: 405-406). Giles *et al.* (1979) reasoned that if listeners were asked to evaluate varieties of a language they did not understand, it would be impossible for these varieties to provide the listeners directly with cues to the speakers' social group memberships, as they would for native speakers of the language. The researchers therefore judged this to be the most appropriate manner of testing the tenability of the imposed norm versus the inherent value hypotheses. They conducted a matched-guise experiment (Giles *et al.* 1979) that employed edited versions of the recordings that had been used by Bourhis *et al.* (1975), that is, mock interviews given by an athlete after a sports competition: one in EF, one in QF and one in broad QF. The subjects of the experiment were Welshmen with extremely low self-reported French skills. The subjects were asked to name each speaker's language (the recordings also included

filler voices in languages other than French) and to rate all stimulus voices. The results showed that the Welshmen were unable to differentiate between the varieties on aesthetic or linguistic grounds: they did not attribute any more favourable characteristics to the EF speakers than to the QF and broad QF speakers. These findings ‘would appear to support the imposed norm hypothesis in the sense that French accents having highly distinctive and salient social meanings to French Canadians in Quebec have no such meanings to non-users outside that culture’ (Giles *et al.* 1979: 594). Further support for the imposed norm hypothesis comes from the results of a study subsequently carried out by Giles *et al.* (1974), who conducted a matched-guise experiment in which recordings of speakers using two different dialects of Greek were played to English undergraduates. Greek informants had confirmed that they considered the Athenian dialect, the prestige form of the language, to sound pleasant and that they judged its speakers to have high status within their society; speakers of the Cretan dialect, on the other hand, were thought of as less intelligent and sophisticated but more amusing. The British subjects, however, who had no knowledge of Greek whatsoever and were unable even to identify the language used as Greek, were found to rate the speakers equally favourably in their Athenian and their Cretan guises. These findings corroborate those of Giles *et al.* (1979). Trudgill and Giles (1978) subsequently pointed out that the imposed norm hypothesis is not entirely adequate, and that it should be broadened and extended: ‘while aesthetic norms in language certainly are imposed to an extent, aesthetic evaluations are not simply a matter of cultural norms. Rather, aesthetic judgements of linguistic varieties are the result of a complex of *social connotations* that these varieties have for particular listeners’ (Trudgill and Giles 1978: 180, emphasis in original text). Indeed it has now become widely accepted that language attitudes are based upon the knowledge of the social connotations that the languages/varieties hold for those who are familiar with them, upon ‘the levels of status, prestige, or appropriateness that they are *conventionally* associated with in particular speech communities’ (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 227, emphasis in original text; see 3.2). Evidently this not only applies to varieties of a single language, such as QF and EF, but also to languages such as English and French in the Quebec context.

While some of the above-mentioned experiments touched on evaluations of (standard) QF as opposed to broad QF, a number of studies were also conducted specifically in order to investigate such attitudes (see e.g. Laberge and Chiasson-Lavoie 1971; Méar-

Crine and Leclerc 1976; Govaert-Gauthier 1979). Overall, their results corroborate those presented above, that is, that QF was evaluated more favourably than broad QF.¹⁸

3.2.2 Attitudes since 1977

As mentioned in section 3.1.2, Genesee and Holobow's (1989) study investigated not only young adults' attitudes towards English versus French but also their evaluations of QF and EF. One of the main advantages of this study was that it made use of speakers who were all capable of reading the matched-guise text in each of the three language varieties under investigation: English, QF and EF. Consequently, the comparisons of the subjects' attitudes towards QF versus EF were significantly less likely to be due to speaker idiosyncrasies than those of most of the previous matched-guise experiments, which had made use of speakers who spoke English and either QF or EF.¹⁹ The findings of Genesee and Holobow (1989) revealed that both anglophones and francophones rated the EF guises significantly more favourably on the majority of status traits, with the francophones rating them more favourably on even more traits than the anglophones. However, with regard to the solidarity traits, neither the anglophones nor the francophones saw any significant differences between the QF and the EF guises. Regrettably, the researchers do not offer an interpretation of these findings.

In 1998, Bouchard and Maurais (1999) administered questionnaires over the telephone in order to investigate the opinions of Quebec anglophones, francophones and allophones with regard to various language issues, including their preferred norms for the French language (for a discussion of the results pertaining to the allophones, see 3.3.3). The results of this study showed that when they were asked about their own, personal manner of speaking, 16% of francophones and 33% of anglophones described it as 'EF', 61% of francophones and ~42% of anglophones as 'rather QF' and 23% of francophones and ~25% of anglophones as 'completely QF'.²⁰ When questioned about how they would *like* to speak, only 4% of the francophones replied 'like the French

¹⁸ The findings of investigations such as Kraus (2006) suggest that attitudes towards QF versus broad QF have not changed significantly over the past three decades, and that QF is still judged more positively.

¹⁹ The exceptions to this were one of the four speakers in Anisfeld and Lambert's (1964) study, who also spoke English, QF and EF, as well as the speaker in Bourhis *et al.*'s (1975) investigation.

²⁰ It should be noted that some of these percentages are approximations: the actual numbers were not provided in Bouchard and Maurais (1999) and had to be inferred from bar charts.

people in France'; 6% thought it desirable to speak 'like most politicians in Quebec' and the remainder was divided between wanting to sound 'like the news-readers on Radio-Canada' (44%) and 'like the ordinary people in TV shows' (47%). No corresponding figures are given for the anglophones, but when the latter were questioned about the variety of French they would like their children to learn, ~8% replied 'like most politicians in Quebec' and ~25% thought it desirable for them to speak 'like the French people in France', while ~33% wanted them to sound 'like the news-readers on Radio-Canada' and ~34% 'like the ordinary people in TV shows'. Furthermore, the anglophones were asked how they would evaluate the francophone Quebecers' manner of speaking, and it emerged that while 16% considered it to be 'very good' and 59% 'good', there were also 16% who described it as 'bad' and 9% who judged it to be 'very bad'. (Surprisingly, there appeared to be no relation between the anglophones' descriptions of their own manner of speaking and their evaluations of the francophone Quebecers' manner of speaking.) Overall, both francophones and anglophones (albeit the latter to a lesser extent than the former) thus expressed relatively positive attitudes towards QF: while a minority expressed a preference for EF, the general norm appears to be for both anglophones and francophones to speak 'rather QF' and to want to speak – and to want their children to speak – either like the news-readers on Radio-Canada (that is, standard QF; see 1.3.6) or even like the ordinary people in TV shows. While the researchers explained the anglophones' positive evaluations of QF in terms of their integration in the Quebec context (as opposed to the lack of this for the allophones; see 3.3.3), they did not offer detailed interpretations of their other findings. Nevertheless, the results of Bouchard and Maurais (1999) are supported by the findings of Laur (2001; see 3.1.2), whose respondents did not evaluate EF more positively than QF on either the status or the solidarity dimension. As Laur (2001: 278) concluded, 'Montrealers do not explicitly consider "French from France" as a standard for French'. However, it should be noted that, given the outcome of subsequent studies, their claiming not to consider EF a norm to be emulated at all is likely to have been the result of social desirability biases.

As seen in section 3.1.2, Byers-Heinlein's (2002) follow-up of Genesee and Holobow (1989) investigated, among other things, young anglophones' attitudes towards QF versus EF. The anglophones in Genesee and Holobow's study had evaluated the speakers equally favourably on the solidarity traits in both their QF and their EF guises while the EF guises had been rated significantly more favourably on the majority of

status traits. Byers-Heinlein's results, on the other hand, showed that her anglophones judged the QF and EF guises equally favourably in terms of status and even evaluated the QF guises more positively than the EF ones on a number of solidarity traits. Interestingly, Byers-Heinlein's anglophones also evaluated the speakers more positively in their English guises than in their EF guises on two of the solidarity traits. Based on this, Byers-Heinlein speculated that her subjects might have grouped the English and QF guises together into a single social group, their Canadian ingroup, while regarding the EF speakers as members of a foreign, European outgroup. However, again, it has to be borne in mind that due to the small size of her subject sample, Byers-Heinlein's results might not be entirely reliable.

Fuga's (2002) replication of Genesee and Holobow (1989) investigated, *inter alia*, young francophones' attitudes towards QF versus EF (see 3.1.2). Genesee and Holobow's francophone subjects had displayed similar attitudes to their anglophone subjects: they had evaluated the speakers equally favourably on the solidarity traits in their QF and their EF guises while the EF guises had been rated significantly more favourably on the majority of the status traits. While Fuga's francophones also rated the EF guises more favourably on the majority of the status traits, they consistently evaluated the QF guises more favourably on all solidarity traits. A noteworthy change thus seemed to have occurred with regard to Quebec francophones' attitudes towards the different varieties of French: while they continued to downgrade their ingroup on the status dimension, they had shifted from ingroup/outgroup neutrality to ingroup preference on the solidarity dimension. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Fuga's francophones also rated the English guises more favourably than the EF ones on all solidarity traits (as well as in terms of one of the status traits). While Fuga did not offer any explanations for these findings, it would be possible to interpret them in the same manner as Byers-Heinlein (2002) accounted for her results: as a reflection of the subjects having grouped the English and QF guises together into a single Canadian ingroup while regarding the EF speakers as members of a foreign, European outgroup.

In 2004, Maurais (2008a) employed telephone questionnaires to investigate the opinions of anglophones, francophones and allophones on various language issues (see 3.3.3 for a discussion of the results pertaining to the allophones). His results regarding the francophones were mixed: on the one hand, 73.9% of francophones regarded speaking QF as an obstacle to communication with francophones from outside Quebec,

and 50.6% considered it appropriate to modify their way of speaking with francophone interlocutors from outside the province. On the other hand, 68.5% of francophones claimed to find QF more beautiful than EF and 59.7% wanted their children to speak QF rather than EF. Moreover, 92.1% of francophones regarded it as normal that certain QF words should be used if there was no EF equivalent, and if both a QF and an EF term exist to describe the same object or concept, 63.5% thought the QF term should be used. (For technical terms, however, 86.9% found it important that QF- and EF-speakers should use the same terminology.) Overall, Maurais' findings seem to suggest that francophone Quebecers held more positive attitudes towards QF than towards EF on the solidarity dimension while evaluating EF more favourably in terms of status. Regarding the anglophones, Maurais' found that when they were asked to evaluate the manner in which Quebec francophones speak, 70.0% of anglophones considered it to be 'good'. However, when questioned about how they themselves would like to speak, only 50.0% of anglophones replied 'QF' as opposed to 'EF', and when they were asked about the variety they would like their children to learn, only 43.1% answered 'QF' as opposed to 'EF'. These findings can be interpreted as indicating mixed attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension, while revealing little about how the anglophones evaluated QF versus EF in terms of status.

In 2006-2007, St-Laurent (2008) conducted group interviews/discussions with young adult anglophones, francophones and allophones of both sexes and different socio-economic backgrounds in order to investigate various language-related issues (see 3.3.3 for a discussion of the results pertaining to the allophones). While the interviews were conducted in various parts of Quebec, it appears that similar trends emerged in all locations. The majority of St-Laurent's anglophone and francophone subjects expressed a preference for QF over EF and stated that they did not consider EF to be the norm to which they aspired.

In summary, it can thus be said that anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards QF improved significantly after 1977. This is not surprising. While Bill 101, which was implemented in that year (see 1.3.4), did not make any stipulations regarding the variety of French to be promoted in Quebec, the late 1970s nevertheless saw the beginning of the debate about an autonomous and legitimate standard for QF, and since then, a broad consensus has formed regarding the existence of this standard (see 1.3.6). In the mid-1980s, a matched-guise experiment (Genesee and Holobow 1989)

revealed that while more negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension persisted, both anglophones and francophones had come to evaluate QF and EF equally favourably in terms of solidarity traits. Findings obtained by research that employed direct methods of attitude elicitation showed that during the 1990s, the majority of anglophone and francophone Quebecers expressed relatively positive attitudes towards QF, and the francophones even more so than the anglophones (Bouchard and Maurais 1999; Laur 2001). By the early 21st century, the findings obtained by means of both direct and indirect means of attitude elicitation (Fuga 2002; Maurais 2008a; St-Laurent 2008) suggested that another shift had occurred and that the francophones had come to evaluate QF more favourably than EF on the solidarity dimension. However, the francophones were also found to have maintained their more positive attitude towards EF on the status dimension. Regarding anglophone Quebecers, another matched-guise experiment conducted in the early 21st century (Byers-Heinlein 2002) revealed that they, too, had shifted to more positive attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension. Furthermore, the outcome of this study indicated equally positive attitudes towards QF and EF on the status dimension among the anglophones – but as mentioned above, due to the small size of the subject sample, the results of this study are unlikely to be entirely reliable. The outcome of another study conducted at approximately the same time (Maurais 2008a) suggested mixed attitudes on the solidarity dimension. (No direct evidence appears to be available concerning Quebec anglophones' attitudes towards QF versus EF on the status dimension.) Since the most recent evaluations of QF amongst anglophones that were obtained by means of direct methods (that is, Maurais 2008a) were more negative than those obtained with indirect methods (that is, Byers-Heinlein 2002), it is unlikely that the former findings were based on social desirability biases – thus lending support to the notion that the results of the matched-guise experiment (Byers-Heinlein 2002) are not entirely reliable. Regardless, it can be said that with regard to the solidarity dimension, both anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF had improved. While the anglophones' attitudes towards on the status dimension remain to be ascertained in a reliable manner, the francophones' attitudes towards in this respect appear to have remained stable.

The fact that during the first years of the 21st century, francophone Quebecers continued to evaluate QF more negatively than EF with regard to status suggests that they still suffered from a fair degree of linguistic insecurity. This could be explained

by the fact that while there was, by then, a consensus regarding the existence of standard QF, this standard has still not been codified by means of a dictionary (see 1.3.6). Moreover, as Lockerbie (2005: 28) points out, the acceptance of this standard was still relatively recent and it was therefore not yet in general circulation, which means that by many, French was still perceived as a monocentric language with EF as the sole standard (see also 1.3.6). Another possible explanation for the persistent negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension among (at least francophone) Quebecers is the above-mentioned stipulation that it is easier to change a group's perception of ingroup solidarity than of intergroup status (see 3.1.2). Further research is necessary to establish whether attitudes towards QF on the status dimension do change over time. Moreover, despite the questionable validity of Byers-Heinlein's (2002) own findings, it would be interesting to establish the tenacity of her hypothesis that Quebecers consider English- and French-speaking Quebecers to be their 'Canadian ingroup' and speakers of EF to be a foreign 'European outgroup'.

3.3 Allophones' language attitudes

While numerous studies have been carried out to investigate the language attitudes of anglophone and francophone Quebecers, relatively few studies appear to have been conducted in order to examine the attitudes held by the numerous allophones living in the province. The paucity of research in this area is surprising, particularly since the allophones' language attitudes and their resulting language choices evidently have a significant effect on Quebec's linguistic demography: in the light of the low birth rate among Quebec francophones, reliance on immigration and the adoption of French among allophones have become crucial for maintaining the stability of the French-speaking majority in the province (see 1.3.6). Due to the comparative lack of research into Quebec allophones' language attitudes by means of direct or indirect methods of attitude elicitation, this section will begin with a discussion of their language choices. As noted in section 2.1, conation (comprising both behavioural intentions as well as actual behaviour) is traditionally considered to be one of the three components that constitute an attitude. While there are, in addition to individuals' attitudes, numerous other factors that influence their behaviour and there is thus no direct, predictive relationship between behaviour and attitude, it can nevertheless be assumed that the allophones' language choices are at least to a certain extent indicative of their attitudes. The discussion of the allophones' language choices is followed by a summary of the few recent studies into their attitudes towards English versus French, as well as QF

versus EF, that the author of this thesis is aware of. Again, other aspects of some of these studies were already mentioned above, in sections 3.1 and 3.2. The findings presented in this section are only the ones pertaining to Quebec allophones.

3.3.1 Allophones' language choices

Carpentier (2004: 1) explains that the allophones' language choices should be interpreted as resulting from practical rather than emotional considerations – ‘the language used by the majority of allophones will be the one that is considered more useful’ – and as has frequently been mentioned in the literature, at least from the Second World War up until the late 1970s, allophone immigrants to Quebec overwhelmingly opted for English as their main language of public usage (see e.g. Gouvernement du Québec 1972; Levine 1990; CROP 2000; Carpentier 2004; St-Laurent 2008; see also 1.3). Perhaps the most striking sign that allophones were integrating into the anglophone community was the trend of school enrolments: freedom of language choice from pre-school to university meant that the majority of allophone immigrants chose English-medium rather than French-medium education for their children (see e.g. Bourhis and Lepicq 1993: 349; see also 1.3.2). As Levine (1990: 57-58) points out, there were several features of the organisation and administration of Quebec schooling that inhibited the enrolment of these children in the French-language sector, including the absence of a non-denominational network of French-language schools (that is, they were all Catholic) and the poor quality of the French-speaking institutions compared with the English-speaking ones. However, the main reasons for allophone immigrants sending their children to English-language schools were utilitarian in nature. Anglophone domination over the province's economy meant that English was clearly the language of upward mobility, particularly in Montreal. Furthermore, the frame of reference for many immigrants was not necessarily French-speaking Quebec but the English-speaking rest of Canada and the United States. Hence, these immigrants regarded command of English as essential in order to fully exploit the economic opportunities in North America, and English-language schooling was the primary agency through which they prepared their children for this (Levine 1990: 56-57).

Bill 101, which stipulated French-language schooling at the primary and secondary level for immigrant children with only a few exceptions (see 1.3.4), evidently had its intended impact on the school system. The proportion of allophone immigrant children

enrolled in French rather than English schools rose from 20% in 1974 to more than 80% by the mid-1990s (Bourhis and Marshall 1999: 257-258; Bourhis and Lepicq 1993: 352). However, given the mandatory nature of enrolment in French-medium schools, such figures do not reveal much about the allophones' true linguistic preferences. There are two somewhat more revealing measures of these: the enrolment rates at private schools as well as the allophones' choices regarding the language of their post-secondary education.

In 1982, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms obliged the Quebec government to modify the admissibility to English-medium schools by stipulating that Canadian citizens who had received their elementary education in English anywhere in Canada have the right to send their children to English-medium public schools (see 1.3.4). Numerous parents, among them many allophones, consequently enrolled their children in private, fee-paying English-language schools for a few years (which they were able to do since these schools were not subject to the Charter of the French Language) – and thereby effectively bought their children's right to subsequently attend public, subsidised English-medium schools (Gouvernement du Québec 2001: 69-70). As the Larose report (Gouvernement du Québec 2001: 70) points out with reference to Proulx (2001), the fact that on average, 50% of children moved from private to public schools by the end of the first year, 84% by the end of the second year and 94% by the end of the third year, strongly suggests that enrolment at private English-language schools was used as a means of avoiding French-medium instruction and integrating into the English-language community instead. Following recommendations made by the Larose Commission (Gouvernement du Québec 2001: 71), the provincial government thus passed Bill 104 in 2002 in order to close this loophole. As noted in section 1.3.4, however, in October 2009, the Supreme Court of Canada invalidated Bill 104, so that from the beginning of the 2010-11 schoolyear onwards, attendance at an English-medium private school will once again guarantee subsequent passage into the English state-funded school system.

While this issue is currently being debated (see e.g. Robitaille 2009b; Gazette 2009b; see also 7.1), allophones still have freedom of choice regarding the language of their post-secondary education, that is, college and university – and as Monière (2003: 23) points out, language choices at this juncture have a much greater impact upon social and professional integration. Langlois (2008: 108) notes that in 2003, only 1% of the

allophones who had received their secondary education in English chose French for their post-secondary education. The percentage of those who received their secondary education in French and who then switched to English appears to be significantly higher, for there were, in 2003, as many as 42% of Quebec allophones enrolled at English-speaking CEGEPs (colleges; see 4.4.1) (Office québécois de la langue française 2008: 80). Also in that same year, 49.3% of allophones chose English-medium universities. Hence, while the percentage of allophones who attend French-speaking universities is rising (from 41.9% in 1986 to 50.7% in 2003), the percentage of those who attend English-medium universities remains high, indicating the undeniable attraction of the English language among allophones in Quebec (Langlois 2008: 109). Furthermore, those allophones who do attend French-language post-secondary education institutions also strive for good knowledge of English since it is regarded as ‘a necessity or an important asset’ (Pagé 2008: 576). While they typically recognise French as ‘the most important language in Quebec’, they perceive English/French bilingualism as ‘the most valuable type of linguistic capital’ and consider it to be ‘necessary for full participation in the life of the city’ (Lamarre and Rossell Paredes 2003: 78). Many Quebec allophones nowadays therefore opt for ‘*trilingualism* as a cultural integration strategy for dealing with the presence of two rival host communities in their country of adoption’: they maintain their heritage language, learn French at school, and additionally acquire English because it is ‘the lingua franca of economic and social mobility in North America’ (Bourhis 2001: 122, emphasis in original text). As McAndrew *et al.* (1999: 121) note, these young allophones ‘are totally convinced of the value of multilingualism, are attached to their mother tongue, and are very aware of the national and international status of languages’.

Evidently, not all allophones make the same decisions regarding their language choices and language usage patterns. Various factors appear to have an effect. For example, it was found that native-born allophones are more likely to integrate into the francophone community than newcomers to Quebec since, even before they start school, they usually learn French from the other children in the neighbourhood, from older siblings who have already started school, and from other sources such as radio and television programmes (CROP 2000: 8). Moreover, it seems that the younger allophone immigrants are at the time of their arrival in Quebec, the more integrated they will become into their host community (CROP 2000: 27; see also Beaulieu 2003: 264). The

time of arrival in the province also seems to play a role: Monnier (1993) found that allophones who had arrived before 1976 expressed a higher motivation to learn English than French (63% versus 53% respectively), while those who arrived after 1976 claimed to have a higher motivation to learn French than English (76% versus 39% respectively). 69% of those who arrived before 1976 were not in favour of the promotion of French in the province, compared to 64% of those who arrived between 1976 and 1991 and who *were* in favour of the francisation of Quebec. While this could be a result of Bill 101, that is, while French might have been perceived as more useful by those who arrived after 1976, these figures could also be influenced by social desirability biases – or they could simply have been caused by the different countries of origin of the immigrants who arrived in Quebec at different times (see 1.3.1 and 1.3.6).

Another factor that was found to have an effect on the linguistic integration of (particularly immigrant) allophones is the language spoken in their country of origin. The Conseil supérieur de la langue française (2007: 6), for example, describes the current situation as ‘far from being satisfactory’ since 72% of immigrants who have a Romance language as their mother tongue adopt French as the main language, but among those who do not have a Romance language as their mother tongue, the figure is as low as 22% (see also e.g. Girard-Lamoureux 2004: 13-16).²¹ Further influential factors are whether or not the allophones know French and/or English before their arrival (Carpentier 2004: 40), the ethnic composition of their *classes d’accueil* (their ‘welcoming classes’, which are designed to prepare them to eventually join mainstream classes; CROP 2000: 9-10), the linguistic environment during the first few years after their arrival (including neighbourhood, employment, etc.) (Carpentier 2004: 11) and – if they arrive as adults – whether or not they have children. The latter factor is significant since allophone children now have to attend French-speaking schools, which tends to lead to at least a certain level of involvement in the francophone community on the part of the parents (Carpentier 2004: 42).

²¹ Interestingly, however, it was the Italian population of the Montreal suburb of Saint-Léonard that reacted the most strongly to the schoolboard’s declaration of French as the sole language of instruction for allophone children in the community, thereby contributing strongly to the so-called Saint-Léonard crisis (Levine 1990: 67-79; see also 1.3.2).

3.3.2 Allophones' attitudes towards English versus French – language attitudes studies

In 2003, Génération Québec conducted a survey among over 100 'children of Bill 101', that is, young Quebecers born abroad or to immigrant parents who had received their schooling in Quebec in French (Beaulieu 2003). (There were, at the beginning of the 21st century, at least 300 000 children of Bill 101 and it can be assumed that the number is significantly higher now.) The respondents of this study expressed very positive opinions of the French language: 92% stated that they were proud to speak French and considered it a richness that should be protected. Furthermore, they claimed to prefer French over English: 54% said they used it with their friends (as opposed to 17% for English and 19% for English and French); 46% with their parents (as opposed to 36% for their mother tongue and 8% English); 59% said they preferred reading newspapers and magazines in French (as opposed to 23% in English) and 59% claimed to prefer French books (as opposed to 27% who preferred English books).

In a study commissioned by the Conseil supérieur de la langue française (CROP 2000), several language-related issues among children of Bill 101 were investigated by means of exploratory discussions. When questioned about the language in which the respondents would like their own children to receive their primary and secondary education, the majority claimed that this was French – firstly since it is necessary to know French in order to live in Quebec, and secondly out of respect to the host culture. However, many of the respondents emphasised that they would only choose French if it was still possible for their children to receive *post*-secondary education in either French or English. For their own post-secondary education, 55.2% had opted for English-speaking colleges and/or universities. (There was, in this study, a slight overrepresentation of allophones who had chosen to study at anglophone colleges and universities; see above for the actual percentages for the whole of Quebec.) The main reasons given for their own language choices regarding post-secondary education included the international reputation of McGill University, the necessity of English in the globalised world, the importance of knowing English on the job market, as well as the desire to have the option to find future employment abroad. It was thus concluded that the choice of English-speaking post-secondary education institutions seems to be a functional, strategic one: the allophones mainly seem to be 'searching for assets that will subsequently open the greatest possible number of doors to the job market, and that both in Quebec and elsewhere' (CROP 2000: 20).

As mentioned in 3.1.2, the respondent sample of Byers-Heinlein's (2002) matched-guise experiment included a number of allophones. Unexpectedly, the response patterns of the allophones in this study were the same as those of the anglophones – that is, they evaluated English and QF equally favourably on both the status and the solidarity dimension (see 3.1.2). This pattern is rather surprising, and particularly so in the light of Laur's (2008) results (see below). A possible explanation for the discrepancy between Byers-Heinlein's findings and those of other studies could be her negligent sampling: her sample of allophone respondents included not only those who had learned neither French nor English as their mother tongue but also those who had learned French, English as well as a third language as their native languages. Furthermore, as mentioned previously (see 3.1.2), Byers-Heinlein's very small sample sizes are likely to have affected the reliability of her findings.

Laur's (2008) matched-guise experiment also investigated allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards male and female speakers of English and QF (see 3.1.2). Overall, the findings revealed very little difference between the allophone subjects and Quebec anglophones and francophones. Like the other mother tongue groups, the allophones rated the female speaker significantly more favourably in her QF guise on both the solidarity and the competence traits; on the status descriptors, no difference was seen between her English and her QF guises. The male speaker, on the other hand, was evaluated significantly more positively in his English guise, and particularly so on the status descriptors.

In summary, both the language choices and patterns of language use discussed in section 3.3.1 as well as the attitudes that were elicited (reliably) by indirect means of measurement (Laur 2008) suggest that in the first years of the 21st century, Quebec allophones attributed more status to English than to French, and that they therefore had a stronger instrumental orientation to learning the former than the latter. Until the implementation of Bill 101 in 1977, when French held little utilitarian value in Quebec (see 1.3.1 to 1.3.3), it is likely that the allophones' stronger instrumental orientation to learning English was due to its function as the language of social and economic advancement in the province itself. As a result of Bill 101, the utilitarian value of English in Quebec has decreased while proficiency in French has become a key criterion for employment – a fact that Quebecers are likely to consider as a material incentive to acquire command of the language. However, French in Quebec now faces

the challenge of English as the global *lingua franca* of our time as well as its status as the language of economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States (see 1.3.6). This is a probable explanation for the persistence of the stronger instrumental orientation to learning English among Quebec allophones in the first years of the 21st century. Regarding the solidarity dimension, the directly expressed attitudes and patterns of language use (Beaulieu 2003; CROP 2000) suggest that the allophones evaluated French more positively than English, and that they therefore had a stronger integrative orientation to learning the former than the latter. The results obtained with indirect means of attitude measurement (Laur 2008), on the other hand, are indicative of more favourable attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension. A significantly larger body of research is thus necessary to verify allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English and French, particularly on the solidarity dimension, as well as the reasons for these attitudes.

3.3.3 Allophones' attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French – language attitudes studies

As regards allophones' attitudes towards QF versus EF, the results of Bouchard and Maurais' (1999) questionnaire (see 3.2.2) revealed that while 9% thought of the francophone Quebecers' manner of speaking as 'very good' and 59% as 'good', there were also 21% who described it as 'bad' and even 11% who judged it to be 'very bad'. Furthermore, when the allophones were questioned about their own, personal manner of speaking, as many as 55% described it as 'EF', ~30% as 'rather QF' and only ~15% as 'QF'.²² Only ~4% and ~26% respectively thought it desirable for their children to learn and speak French 'like most politicians in Quebec' and 'like the ordinary people in TV shows', compared to ~40% who wanted them to speak 'like the news-readers on Radio-Canada' and even ~30% who wanted their children to sound 'like the French people in France'. Bouchard and Maurais thus concluded that the allophones had a tendency to prefer the normative EF model, and they explain this in terms of their lack of knowledge about, and integration into, the province of Quebec (Bouchard and Maurais 1999: 108). However, it should be noted that this explanation only holds for immigrants in Quebec, but not for allophone Quebecers of immigrant descent, who would have grown up in the province and become integrated from school age onwards, at the latest.

²² Again, it should be noted that some of these percentages are approximations as the actual numbers were not provided in Bouchard and Maurais (1999) and had to be inferred from bar charts.

As mentioned above, one of the objectives of Byers-Heinlein's (2002) matched-guise experiment was to investigate allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF and EF (see 3.1.2). Like their evaluations of English versus QF, the allophones' judgements of QF versus EF were the same as those of the anglophones – that is, they rated the QF guises more positively than the EF ones on two out of five solidarity traits while evaluating both guises equally favourably on the five status traits (see 3.1.2). Byers-Heinlein (2002: 20) interpreted this as an indication of 'a new negative stereotype of European French and European French speakers [that] exists among anglophones and allophones in Quebec'. However, again, it has to be borne in mind that Byers-Heinlein's inclusion of those who had English, French as well as another language into the allophone sample might have affected her findings (see 3.3.2) and that the small sample sizes used in her study are likely to have compromised the validity of her results (see 3.1.2).

As mentioned in section 3.3.2, the subject sample of the telephone questionnaires administered by Maurais (2008a) also included allophones. As those of the anglophone and francophone subjects, these allophones' evaluations of QF were found to be mixed: when they were asked to evaluate Quebec francophones' manner of speaking, it emerged that 68.2% of the allophones considered it to be 'good'. However, when questioned about how they themselves would like to speak, as many as 63.0% replied 'EF', and when they were asked about the variety they would like their children to learn, 66.9% also answered 'EF' rather than 'QF'. Finally, it is remembered that some of the subjects of St-Laurent's (2008) group interviews/discussions were also allophones – more precisely, most of them were children of Bill 101 and the remainder were more recent immigrants. The majority of these allophones also expressed a clear preference for EF over QF, both in written and in spoken French.

Overall, the allophones' directly expressed attitudes (Bouchard and Maurais 1999; Maurais 2008a; St-Laurent) thus suggest that in the first years of the 21st century, they attributed more status to EF than to QF, and therefore had a stronger instrumental orientation to learning the former than the latter. Like the anglophone and francophone Quebecers' negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension, the allophones' attitudes could be explained by the fact that standard QF had still not been codified by means of a dictionary (see 1.3.6). Moreover, the acceptance of this standard was, at the time these studies were carried out, still relatively recent and it was therefore not yet in general circulation. Consequently, by many, French was still perceived as a

monocentric language with EF as the sole standard (see also 1.3.6). An additional factor is that in many parts of the world, standard EF was (and remains) the target norm taught to those learning French as a second language (see 1.3.6) – and as a consequence of this, it is possible that the instrumental orientation to learning EF was particularly high among allophone immigrants. Regrettably, the findings of the above-mentioned studies do not shed much light on allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF versus EF on the solidarity dimension. The evaluations of QF in terms of the solidarity dimension that were obtained by means of direct methods of measurement (that is, Bouchard and Maurais 1999 and Maurais 2008a) were more negative than those obtained with an indirect method (that is, Byers-Heinlein 2002), and it is thus unlikely that the former findings were based on social desirability biases. Again, this discrepancy can presumably be attributed to the unreliability of Byers-Heinlein's findings as a result of her small sample sizes. More research is thus necessary to shed light on allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF and EF on both the status and the solidarity dimension.

4. Language attitudes in Quebec – methodology

As explained in section 1.1, the objective of the present study is to investigate the attitudes that anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers with different backgrounds regarding immigration hold towards English, Quebec French (QF) and European French (EF). In particular, the aim is to research their attitudes towards these languages/varieties on the two main evaluative dimensions of language attitudes, namely status and solidarity (see 2.2). This chapter considers the background of the research instruments that were employed in order to collect the data for the present investigation: a language attitudes questionnaire and a matched-guise experiment. First, section 4.1 provides an explanation for the choice of these research methods. Section 4.2 then explains the development of the survey questionnaire as well as the structure and content of its final version. Subsequently, section 4.3 examines the materials used for the matched-guise experiment, and the final section of this chapter, section 4.4, pertains to the methodological procedures that were followed for the present study.

4.1 Choice of methods

As highlighted in section 2.3.3, direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation frequently yield different, and even contradictory results, since they pertain to different ‘levels of analysis’ (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1076). The findings of research that employs direct methods of attitude elicitation, whose purpose is typically recognisable, tend to be influenced by what is considered to be socially desirable. This is due to the fact that once it is known what type of information is being sought, most individuals try (consciously or unconsciously) to put themselves in the best possible light by responding in a prestigious, or at least acceptable, manner. Indirect methods, on the other hand, involve attitude elicitation in experimental situations and thereby at least partially circumvent the fact that people frequently give socially desirable and thus possibly dishonest answers when questioned about their attitudes directly. Considering that the different methods yield results pertaining to such potentially distinct levels of analysis, it was decided to employ a combination of both direct and indirect methods in the present study. It was hoped that a comparison of the findings obtained by means of these different methods would enable a more complete understanding of the complexity of the social and linguistic situation in Quebec.

A further choice had to be made concerning the exact kind of direct and indirect method to be employed in the present study. The matched-guise technique in its pure form was deemed to be the most appropriate indirect method. As discussed previously (see 2.3.3), this method has certain drawbacks; however, apart from in diglossic settings, which is not how Quebec is to be classified, the advantages of the technique are generally considered to compensate for these drawbacks. The major strength of this method lies in the elicitation of data that reveals the group biases and stereotyped impressions that subjects hold towards the groups of speakers of the particular languages they are evaluating.

The advantages that questionnaires have over interviews (see 2.3.2) led to their being considered the more suitable direct method of attitude measurement for the present study. Moreover, in addition to the general advantages of questionnaires, in the case of this particular research project it was also deemed to be significantly more difficult to persuade a large enough number of participants to meet with the researcher individually or in small groups for an interview than to distribute questionnaires among groups of individuals who could then fill them in all at the same time.

4.2 Questionnaire

This section provides an overview of the techniques learnt from previous studies for the purpose of developing the survey questionnaire, as well as considering the pilot study that was undertaken. Furthermore, the issue of translating the research instrument is discussed and it is explained how reliability was ascertained and content validity assessed. The last part of the section pertains to the structure and content of the final version of the questionnaire.

4.2.1 Models

The present survey owes much to the following empirical studies of language attitudes in various contexts: Flaitz (1988) on French attitudes to English as a world language, Baker (1992) on attitudes to bilingualism in Wales, Wingstedt (1998) on language ideology in Sweden, and Oakes (2001) on language and national identity in France and Sweden. These studies were drawn upon for the development of the structure and layout of the questionnaire, the final version of which is discussed in section 4.2.5. They served as models for the type of rating scales employed as well as for a number of questionnaire items, which were adapted to the Quebec context for use in the

present investigation. Finally, in combination with works such as Likert (1932) and Oppenheim (1992), the above-mentioned studies also served as guides for the wording and formulation of the remaining questionnaire items. Upon their recommendation, it was attempted to express all items in a clear, concise and straightforward manner by avoiding complex syntax, semantic ambiguities, leading questions, hypothetical questions, vaguely defined or potentially unfamiliar words, abbreviations, metaphors, colloquialisms and lengthy questions. Moreover, an effort was made to break multidimensional items down into their individual components (in order to allow respondents to express different attitudes towards these separate components) and to avoid factual statements – for as Likert (1932: 44) explains: ‘Two persons with decidedly different attitudes may, nevertheless, agree on questions of fact. Consequently, their reaction to a statement of fact is no indication of their attitudes’. Furthermore, care was taken to begin the questionnaire with easy and non-threatening items, not to use the same type of question (that is, either open-ended or closed questions) throughout the entire questionnaire, and to ensure that the closed questions used accommodated all possible answers.

While all of the above-mentioned studies were used as models in one way or another, this survey nevertheless differed from them in one main respect: its objective was the investigation of language attitudes on the two main evaluative dimensions, status and solidarity, and when designing the research instrument, the researcher was not aware of any previous study that had endeavoured to undertake this by means of a questionnaire (rather than a matched-guise experiment).

4.2.2 Pilot

A pilot study was conducted with a preliminary version of the research instrument amongst twelve university students in October 2006. Five students (two of whom were allophones and the remainder anglophones) were approached in one of the cafeterias at McGill University and asked to fill in the questionnaire in its English version; seven students (two of whom were also allophones and the remainder francophones) were approached in one of the cafeterias at the Université de Montréal and asked to fill in the questionnaire in its French version.

The idea of conducting a pilot study among the population chosen for the actual study, that is, college students (see section 4.4.1), was abandoned when it was realised how

difficult the lengthy procedure of obtaining permission from the relevant ethics boards made it to gain access to students from these institutions. It was therefore judged that as many respondents as possible should be saved for the main study, which required a substantial corpus, and that the pilot study should be carried out among university students who were close in age to the population chosen for the actual study. The low number of respondents in the pilot study was a result of the initial difficulty of finding students willing to fill in the questionnaire without any sort of reward. It was therefore decided to pay each participant \$10 for their help, which, due to the limited financial means of the researcher, meant that the number of participants in the pilot had to be restricted.

In addition to the questions concerning the respondents' backgrounds and language attitudes, the pilot questionnaire also included three items that asked the respondents how long it had taken to fill in the questionnaire, whether any questions had been difficult to understand and whether there were any words that they had found problematic. The answers to the first question were used in order to determine a suitable length for the questionnaire. The answers to the latter two questions (as well as the reactions to each item of the questionnaire) led to the reformulation of certain items which were judged ambiguous or too difficult to understand.

4.2.3 Translation

One of the major challenges concerning the present survey was the issue of translating the research instrument, which was to be distributed to the students at anglophone and francophone colleges in English and French respectively. At the outset, an English version of the questionnaire was devised. The versions of the research instrument that were to be piloted were then arrived at by means of the three stages of back-translation (see e.g. McKay *et al.* 1996: 94). First, the researcher translated the instrument from English into French. As the researcher is not a native speaker of French, she discussed this translation with a number of French mother-tongue speakers and modified it until it was considered to be grammatically correct and stylistically coherent, yet still expressed what had been intended. This version of the questionnaire was then given to a professional, bilingual translator who translated it back from French into English. Finally, the original and the back-translated English versions were compared. Modifications were made to both the English and the French versions of the

questionnaire through a process known as decentering in order to obtain research instruments that were conceptually equivalent:

In decentering, the instrument written in the source language is not considered final until the entire translation process has been completed. As the translation or back-translation process reveals words or phrases in the source language that are problematic in the target language, revisions are made in both the source and target language instruments until comparable questions are achieved in both languages. (McKay *et al.* 1996: 94)

In order to ensure the grammatical correctness and stylistic acceptability of both the English and the French versions of the research instrument, native speakers of both languages were consulted again before the questionnaire was deemed ready to be piloted. Furthermore, it was ensured that the reading levels required for the understanding of the two versions of the questionnaire were equivalent, for ‘[t]hat one version of the instruments did not require a higher reading level or degree of knowledge than the other was considered an essential criterion for a good translation’ (Oakes 2000: 173).

The actual type of translation employed was a conceptual translation: rather than using terms or phrases in the target language that were the dictionary equivalents of the terms in the source language, as is the case for literal translations, it was considered more important to capture the implied associations and connotative meanings of the source language instrument. As Brislin (1986: 150) puts it, ‘[i]n translation it is the intent that must be maintained, not the content’. Based on numerous past studies, McKay *et al.* (1996: 103) conclude that while literal translations frequently yield stilted, awkwardly worded or even incomprehensible texts, conceptual translations are almost always effective and therefore to be highly recommended.

4.2.4 Reliability and content validity

Two further significant issues that needed to be addressed while designing the survey questionnaire were its reliability and content validity. Following Oppenheim’s (1992: 147) advice on ascertaining the reliability of attitude questionnaires, sets of questions (rather than single items) were employed in the present survey in order to measure respondents’ attitudes towards each language/variety on both the status and the solidarity dimension. This can be expected to lead to increased reliability by yielding results of higher consistency – and ‘reliability is a necessary (though not sufficient)

condition for validity: a measure which is not reliable cannot attain an adequate degree of validity' (Oppenheim1992: 162).

As Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 150) point out, the validation of attitude studies is particularly problematic since, due to 'the very nature of attitudes as properties of the psychological or mental process', it is difficult to establish suitable criteria against which to validate them. Studies that focus on the action component of attitudes can be easily validated by comparing their results with actual behaviour in real-life situations similar to those produced under the research conditions. However, studies focusing on the cognitive and/or affective dimension of attitudes are naturally less easily tested for validity – not least because these dimensions are not necessarily reflected in actual behaviour. As discussed in section 2.3.2, the most widespread opinion is that direct measures such as questionnaires mainly elicit the cognitive component of attitudes. In the case of the survey questionnaire employed in the present research, there was thus a necessity for content validity criteria of a more subjective nature that corresponded to the cognitive dimension of language attitudes.

As a point of departure, certain items that had proven particularly effective were chosen from the above-mentioned studies that had served as models for the present research instrument (see 4.3.1). Aided by the knowledge of the relevant historical, social and economic issues in the province (see 1.3), these items were then adapted to the Quebec context. The remaining items were devised in consultation with an expert in the subject area of language attitudes in Quebec, and only those items deemed to elicit responses that would correspond closely to the objectives of the study were ultimately included in the questionnaire.²³ Finally, the research instrument was discussed with a further expert on language attitudes in Quebec.

As Oppenheim (1992: 148) remarks, inadequate question wording and questionnaire construction are not the only causes of poor attitudinal validity, and much error and bias can arise from irregularities in procedures. Consequently, the researcher also avoided any changes in wording when introducing the research project to the participants, and recurring questions were answered in the same manner every time (see 4.4.2).

²³ This is the same procedure advised by Sax (1968) and subsequently followed by researchers such as Flaitz (1988) and Oakes (2000).

4.2.5 Structure and content

For ease of statistical analysis, the majority of the items included in the final version of the survey (see appendices B and C for the English and French version respectively) were closed questions, with either rating scales or multiple choice response options. The type of rating scales used were five-point, interval, Likert-like scales: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all. A few open-ended questions were also included in the questionnaire with the aim of obtaining some qualitative data that, it was hoped, would complement the findings of the closed questions pertaining to the three languages/varieties under investigation.

4.2.5.1 Background data

The final version of the questionnaire began with a short introductory paragraph explaining the purpose of the survey. This was followed by items 1 to 5, which focused on the respondents' backgrounds: their year of study at college, age, sex, place of birth and the length of time they had been living in Quebec. Item 4 ('Where were you born? Please give the name of the town or the city, if it is in Canada: the province, or, if it is not in Canada: the country') sought to find out whether a respondent was a first generation immigrant to Quebec or not, and if they were an immigrant, whether they had emigrated from a country where English or French was spoken as the main language. The objective of item 5, which pertained to the number of months or years the respondents had been living in Quebec, was to enable the researcher to investigate a possible correlation between the length of time the immigrants had spent in the province and their attitudes towards the languages/varieties under investigation. Items 12 to 17 dealt with the respondents' parents: their languages, birthplaces, and how long they had been living in Quebec. The aim of items 12 and 15 ('Where was your mother/father born? Please give the name of the town or the city, if it is in Canada: the province, or, if it is not in Canada: the country') was to find out whether a respondent was of immigrant descent or not, and if so, whether one or both of that respondent's parents had emigrated from a country where English or French was spoken as the main language.

It should be noted that no information regarding the participants' socio-economic background was sought by means of the survey. Unless a significant amount of space in a research instrument is dedicated to questions concerning factors such as area of

residence and (in this case, since the respondents were students, the parents') occupation and salary, it is very difficult to obtain the relevant information. It was therefore decided that, rather than concentrating on the variable socio-economic background, the space in the questionnaire – and therefore the time of the participants – should be used to investigate the influence of the variables that this research was originally designed to examine: mother tongue, immigrant status and multilingualism. (Due to the lack of monolingual counter-examples, the influence of the variable multilingualism could ultimately not be investigated on the basis of the present data; see 5.1.5.) Moreover, it was impossible to determine the respondents' socio-economic background from the location of the colleges they attended: unlike schools, which tend to be frequented by students living in the surrounding areas, colleges are often attended by students from various parts of the city in which they are located. Hence, there was no means of controlling for the variable socio-economic background in the present study, and no conclusions regarding its effect can be drawn from the results.

4.2.5.2 Knowledge of languages

Items 6 to 11 sought to elicit information regarding the respondents' knowledge of languages. For items 6 to 9, respondents were asked to rate their competence in English, French and any other languages they knew on five-point scales (1 = not at all, to 5 = perfectly) with regard to listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing ability. These four components were then collapsed to give an overall score for proficiency in each language. In combination with item 10 ('Would you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/trilingual/multilingual'), items 6 to 9 aimed to ascertain whether or not respondents were in fact monolingual or multilingual (multilingual being defined as including bilingual and trilingual).²⁴ Evidently, self-reports of language proficiency are not entirely reliable. However, as the process of actually testing people's language abilities would have been significantly more difficult, time-consuming and costly (as judges of their ability in each language would have had to be employed), this was the closest the researcher could come to finding out about the respondents' language abilities.

Item 11 asked respondents to provide information about the age at which they had begun learning each of their languages and where they had learnt them. In combination

²⁴ As mentioned above, one of the original objectives of this study had been to investigate the influence of multilingualism on language attitudes, but this aim had to be abandoned due to the lack of monolingual counter-examples.

with items 6 to 9, the aim of this item was to enable the categorisation of respondents into four different groups of mother tongue speakers: English (and other), French (and other), English and French (and other), and other(s) (see 5.1.4). This categorisation was undertaken in accordance with Statistics Canada's definition of mother tongue as 'the first language a person learned at home in childhood and still understands. Some respondents may declare that they learned two or more languages simultaneously'.

4.2.5.3 Attitudes towards English and French

Items 18 to 26 and 27 to 35 of the research instrument focused on evaluations of English and French respectively, with particular attention paid to attitudes on the status and solidarity dimensions.

Items 19, 21, 24, 28, 30 and 33 were designed to elicit attitudes towards English and French on the status dimension. As discussed in section 2.2, a language/variety that is perceived to have high status is defined as one that is, *inter alia*, associated with economic opportunity and upward social mobility. Items 21 and 30 ('Knowing English/French will increase my opportunities to find employment') were thus designed to elicit attitudes towards English and French with respect to the first component of this definition, while the aim of items 24 and 33 ('English/French is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life') was to elicit attitudes with respect to the second component. Based on the assumption that a language's suitability to modern society implies its usefulness, items 19 and 28 ('English/French is a language that is well suited to modern society') sought to investigate the utilitarian value that Quebecers attribute to English and French – another important characteristic of languages/varieties that are evaluated highly on the status dimension.

The purpose of items 20, 23, 25, 29, 32 and 34 was to elicit attitudes towards English and French on the solidarity dimension. As noted in section 3.2, individuals tend to evaluate those languages/varieties highly on the solidarity dimension that they employ in their family life and/or intimate friendships. Items 20 and 29 ('English/French is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions') thus sought to find out to what extent this is the case for English and French among Quebecers of different backgrounds. By making reference to the notion of Canadian cultural heritage, items 23 and 32 ('Knowing English/French is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage') aimed to find out to what extent the languages elicit feelings of attachment

and belonging to the English and/or French speech communities, that is, at the level of group identity. In order to obtain a more complete picture, items 25 and 34 ('Knowing English/French is an important part of my personal identity') were used to ascertain the extent to which English and French are important to Quebecers of different backgrounds at the level of individual identity.

Items 18 ('English is a beautiful language') and 22 ('English is richer than French') as well as items 27 ('French is a beautiful language') and 31 ('French is more elegant than English') sought more general information regarding attitudes towards English and French. As explained in section 2.2 and seen from the experiments of Giles *et al.* (1974 and 1979; see 3.2.1), no language/variety is inherently more beautiful, rich or elegant than any other. Such evaluations are nothing other than reflections of societal norms and mainstream beliefs; they are based upon the knowledge of the social connotations that they hold for those who are familiar with them, upon the levels of prestige 'that they are *conventionally* associated with in particular speech communities' (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 227, emphasis in original text). Items 18, 22, 27 and 31, which sought to investigate the perceived beauty, richness and elegance of English and French, thus aimed to provide further insight into the attitudes that Quebecers of different backgrounds hold towards these languages.

In addition to the closed questions, two more open-ended questions were included in the research instrument in order to investigate attitudes towards English and French: items 26 and 35 ('What five words do you think are the most suitable to describe English/French'). The aim of these items was to obtain some qualitative data to support the findings of the closed questions pertaining to the two languages.

4.2.5.4 Attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French

The final section of the research instrument focused on evaluations of QF versus EF, with particular attention paid to attitudes on the status and solidarity dimensions. Attitudes towards QF versus EF on the status dimension were elicited with the aid of item 37 ('Quebec French is better suited to modern society than European French'), item 39 ('Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) increases my opportunities to find employment') and item 42 ('Quebec French speakers are likely to get farther in life than European French speakers'). The reasoning for the inclusion of

each of these items was the same as that for the corresponding status-related items with regard to English and French (see 4.2.5.3).

Attitudes towards QF versus EF on the solidarity dimension were elicited by means of item 38 ('Quebec French lends itself to expressing feelings and emotions more readily than European French does'), item 41 ('Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) constitutes a significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage') and item 43 ('Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is important for my sense of personal identity'). Again, the reasoning for the inclusion of each of these items was the same as that for the corresponding solidarity-related items with regard to English and French (see section 4.2.5.3).

In addition to these items pertaining to status and solidarity, a number of items were included that sought more general information concerning attitudes towards the varieties under investigation: item 36 ('Quebec French is more beautiful than European French'), item 40 ('Quebec French is richer than European French'), item 44 ('Quebec French is more elegant than European French') and item 45 ('It is important to keep Quebec French as similar to European French as possible'). The reasoning for the inclusion of items 36, 40 and 44 was the same as that for the corresponding items with regard to English and French (see 4.2.5.3). Item 45 was included with the aim of tapping whether Quebecers of different backgrounds consider QF to be a national variety in its own right. It should be noted that item 45 is the only item in the section pertaining to attitudes towards QF versus EF where a high score on the rating scale does not equal a positive evaluation of QF.

Retrospectively, the researcher realised that the manner in which the items were phrased had the disadvantage of not revealing whether – in those instances where the respondents did not display more favourable attitudes towards QF – their attitudes towards QF and EF were equally positive or whether they in fact held more positive attitudes towards EF. Ideally, two sets of questions should have been included, one pertaining to QF and one to EF.

As in the sections concerning attitudes towards English and French, in addition to the closed questions, one more open-ended question was included: item 46 ('What five words do you think are the most suitable to describe Quebec French'). Again, the aim

of this item was to obtain some qualitative data to support the findings of the closed questions. Retrospectively, the researcher became aware of the fact that in order to obtain a complete picture of attitudes towards QF versus EF, an open-ended question pertaining to EF should also have been included in the research instrument.

The final item of the questionnaire, item 47 ('Please rate your variety of French on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning "QF" and 5 meaning "EF"'), sought to tap whether the variety of French spoken by the respondents themselves was closer to QF or to EF. The objective of this item was to enable the researcher to investigate a possible correlation between the variety of French spoken by the respondents and their attitudes towards QF versus EF.

4.3 Matched-guise experiment

This section addresses the matched-guise experiment employed as part of the present study in order to elicit data that is not affected by social desirability biases. It explains how the speakers for the experiment were found, what text was used and on what traits the subjects were asked to rate the speakers. The final part of the section pertains to the design of the evaluation sheets as well as the type of rating scales that were used.

4.3.1 Selection of speakers

The main criterion for appropriate speakers to be recorded for the matched-guise experiment was that they had to sound like native speakers when using each of the three varieties under investigation: (Canadian) English, QF and EF. As most previous matched-guise experiments had used recordings of three speakers, this was also the number of speakers that the researcher was hoping to find for the present study, and after a lengthy search, three potential speakers were located: two male Quebecers living in Montreal and one male Quebecer who lived in Switzerland.

During a visit to Quebec in the autumn of 2006, the researcher met with Professor Fred Genesee from McGill University. During this meeting, Professor Genesee very kindly offered the researcher the opportunity to employ the recordings that he and Naomi Holobow had utilised in their acclaimed 1984 matched-guise experiment (Genesee and Holobow 1989; see 3.1.2 and 3.2.2). The researcher gratefully accepted this offer as the use of these recordings entailed four considerable advantages over employing the new recordings that she had planned to make. First, the researcher did not have to

undertake the costly journey to Switzerland in order to record the speaker who was living there. Second, the researcher did not have any guarantee that the three speakers she had located did in fact sound native-like when speaking the languages/varieties under investigation. She would therefore have had to find evaluators of their language abilities (that is, native speakers of Canadian English, QF, and EF) – and had one or more of the speakers been mistaken in the self-assessment of their language abilities, the researcher would have had to recommence the time-consuming process of searching for appropriate speakers. Third, unlike the speakers that had been recorded for Genesee and Holobow (1989), not all of the speakers found by the researcher were of the same age, which could potentially have had a confounding effect on the results. Finally, employing the recordings made for Genesee and Holobow (1989) had the advantage of allowing for greater comparability between that study and the present one.

Genesee and Holobow (1989: 23-24) describe the selection process of their speakers as follows:

Recordings in each of three guises – Canadian English, Quebec French and European French – were made of five ‘trilingual’ males [...]. All speakers spoke middle class language varieties. [...] The present recordings were then presented in random order to 20 male and female undergraduate psychology students from McGill University who were asked to judge the first language and nationality of each speaker. These judgements were used to select three of the five speakers for inclusion in the study. The three speakers who were selected were judged to be native speakers in each of their guises by at least 85% of the students.

Genesee and Holobow also explain that the nine recordings (that is, three speakers in each of their three guises) were arranged in triads so that no two guises from the same speaker and no two recordings of the same language/variety occurred consecutively. While three different orders of the nine language samples were originally recorded to control for possible order effects, no such effects are mentioned in Genesee and Holobow’s work. For simplicity’s sake, the researcher thus only employed the recording made of the nine samples in one particular order.²⁵ Two other language samples from different speakers were added to the beginning of the recording as practice voices (see 2.3.3); however, the subjects’ reactions to these practice items

²⁵ This order was the following: speaker 2: EF, speaker 3: English, speaker 1: QF, speaker 3: EF, speaker 2: QF, speaker 1: English, speaker 3: QF, speaker 1: EF, speaker 2: English.

were evidently not included in the statistical analyses made by either Genesee and Holobow or the author of this thesis.

As pointed out by Ryan *et al.* (1987: 1072; see also Genesee and Holobow 1989: 23), the generality of findings obtained by matched-guise experiments that only employ recordings of young adult male speakers is limited, and ideally, the effects of the speakers' age and gender should also be addressed. This point is supported by the findings of studies such as Preston (1963), Luhman (1990), Lawson and Sachdev (2000) and Laur (2008). However, at least two or three speakers of each gender and of each age-level (for instance, children, young adults and adults) would have had to be used to ensure that the findings for each speaker-group were not due to the idiosyncratic speech style of a single individual; for if this had been the case, the findings could not be generalised at all. This would have required the use of a comparatively large number of speakers, who would have been difficult to find and record. Furthermore, the use of such a large number of speakers would also have had the disadvantage of making the matched-guise experiment itself a significantly more time-consuming exercise. This, in turn, would have decreased the probability of obtaining permission to carry out the experiment during lesson time in colleges, which is what was envisaged for the present study (see 4.4.1). Furthermore, while the results of a matched-guise experiment that only employs recordings of young adult male speakers might be of limited generality, this kind of study is nevertheless 'a reasonable initial step in the identification of major effects' (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1072). Hence, only the recordings that had been made for Genesee and Holobow (1989) were used for the present investigation of language attitudes in Quebec.

4.3.2 Selection of text

The text employed in the matched-guise experiment originated from a bilingual airline magazine (personal communication with Professor Fred Genesee, 13th September 2006). The English version of the text read by each of the speakers was the following (see appendix D for the French version of this text, which was read by each speaker in both QF and EF):

On a January day when the temperature was minus twenty degrees Celsius, a thirteen-year-old girl was buried under debris when the heating system of her parents' home exploded. When firemen arrived on the scene, she was soaked with water and waited two hours before she could be rescued and taken to hospital. Her body temperature was well below thirty-three degrees Celsius and she was shivering violently. She had lost her sense of balance, spoke incoherently, and was suffering from extreme fatigue. Her pulse and blood pressure had fallen.

As mentioned in section 2.3.3, neither texts nor the topics they deal with are ever really 'neutral'. The topic of this particular text, for example, is likely to lead the listener to think that the event described in this passage took place in Quebec rather than in France, which could have affected evaluations of both QF and EF. However, since the content of this passage is as socially, ideologically and politically neutral as possible, and in no way language-related, it can be hoped that it had only the smallest possible influence upon the subjects of the matched-guise experiment. Furthermore, it should be noted that the French version of the text did not contain any lexical items that identify the passage as either QF or EF (and furthermore, intonation, pitch and voice quality of the speakers were similar). In so far as this is possible, evaluations of the speakers were thus made solely on the basis of their language/variety.

4.3.3 Evaluation traits

All but one of the evaluation traits employed in the present study were the same as those in Genesee and Holobow (1989; see Appendix A). Most of these traits had previously also been used by Lambert *et al.* (1960) (as well as in numerous other investigations of language attitudes in Quebec; see chapter 3). The remaining traits used by Genesee and Holobow were taken from a list of characteristics that the subjects of their pilot study had reported to be relevant descriptors of anglophone and francophone Canadians.

The subjects were asked to evaluate the speakers on the following five solidarity-related traits: 'not at all kind – very kind', 'not at all likeable – very likeable', 'no sense of humour – good sense of humour', 'cold – warm' and 'not at all sociable – very sociable'. 'Sociability' is the only trait used in the present study that was not employed by Genesee and Holobow (1989), whose fifth solidarity trait was 'colourfulness'. 'Sociability' (taken from Lambert *et al.* 1960) was used here since evaluations of the speakers in terms of this trait were deemed more conclusive; 'colourfulness' was considered by the researcher to be rather vague. While this might

make the present study somewhat less directly comparable with Genesee and Holobow (1989), the difference of one trait only makes the discrepancy marginal and the researcher considered the disadvantage of this marginal discrepancy to be outweighed by the advantage gained from the expected higher conclusiveness of the results.

In addition to the solidarity-related traits above, the subjects also had to evaluate the speakers on the following five status-related traits: ‘not at all intelligent – very intelligent’, ‘not at all dependable – very dependable’, ‘not at all ambitious – very ambitious’, ‘no leadership qualities – many leadership qualities’ and ‘not at all educated – very educated’.

4.3.4 Evaluation sheets and rating scales

Each evaluation sheet consisted of eleven pages (see appendices E and F for the English and French version respectively). The first page contained a short paragraph giving instructions to the subjects as well as the rating scales for the two practice speakers. Pages two to ten contained the rating scales for the actual speakers. On page eleven, the subjects were asked for their opinion regarding the purpose of the study, and whether they thought that there was anything unusual about the voices they had heard. The purpose of these questions was to enable the researcher to ascertain whether any of the subjects had guessed the actual aim of the research project.

The rating scales that were used consisted of 8cm long horizontal lines, one end of which was labelled ‘not at all...’, the other end ‘very ...’. After the subjects had marked vertical lines along each of the rating scales, the scales were measured to the nearest half centimetre to obtain values for the subjects’ evaluations of each of the guises, resulting in 16-point scales. This type of rating scale had previously been employed in other studies such as Genesee and Bourhis (1982), Genesee and Holobow (1989), Byers-Heinlein (2002) and Fuga (2002).

Unlike the survey questionnaire, the matched-guise experiment was not piloted. The rationale for this was two-fold. First, since the procedure for the matched-guise experiment is significantly more complex and time-consuming than that of the questionnaire, it was judged to be even more difficult to find participants for a pilot. Second, the method had been tried and tested many times in the past. As even the particular recordings employed had been used before and all the evaluation traits were

selected from lists of traits that had been employed in past studies, another pilot was deemed unnecessary. The coherent and consistent results of previous studies that had employed the same traits and rating scales were deemed to attest to the reliability and validity of these traits and scales. The reliability and validity of the recordings can be deduced from the fact that in the pre-test conducted by Genesee and Holobow, 85% of the judges considered the speakers to be natives in each of their guises.

4.4 Methodological procedures

This section examines the methodological procedures followed for the present study: the selection of institutions and participants, the ethical issues that needed to be taken into account, the administration of the research instruments as well as the statistical analyses that were performed.

4.4.1 Selection of institutions and participants

As noted in section 2.2 and confirmed by the previous studies discussed in chapter 3, an individual's age is likely to have an influence on their language attitudes. Ideally, the present investigation would thus have had to be conducted among Quebecers of a number of different age groups. However, as a significant quantity of participants from each age group would have had to take part in order to allow for the researcher to generalise the findings, such an investigation was judged to be beyond the scope of the present work. Hence, this study of language attitudes in Quebec focuses on only one age group. The reason young people were selected is that most previous research into language attitudes in Quebec was also conducted among similar populations. The choice of participants for the present study therefore allows for a greater degree of comparability between the findings of this work and other, previous studies.

In order to be able to conduct this study among a comparatively large number of people at a time, it was decided to carry it out at an education institution. The choice concerning the type of institution fell on Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (Colleges of General and Vocational Education, typically abbreviated to 'CEGEPs'), a type of post-secondary education institution exclusive to the province of Quebec (see e.g. Fédération des cégeps n.d.). Students in Quebec usually complete six years of primary and five years of secondary school (which means that they leave school after grade 11, that is, one year earlier than students in the rest of Canada). Those who wish to continue to post-secondary education must then attend a CEGEP

prior to enrolling in a university. A particular feature of many of the CEGEPs is the co-existence of pre-university programmes, which take two years to complete and usually lead to undergraduate studies, and technical career programmes, which last three years and prepare the students for a technical profession. There are currently 48 publicly funded CEGEPs in Quebec, out of which 43 are French-speaking and five English-speaking. There are also 50 privately subsidised Colleges in the province, including six English-language ones; however, while the term CEGEP is in common usage frequently also applied to these private institutions, it technically only refers to the public Colleges of General and Vocational Education.

The rationale for conducting the present research in CEGEPS was three-fold. First, unlike most secondary school students, who are usually under the age of 18, CEGEP students are generally old enough not to require their parents' consent for participation in a research project, which simplified the data collection process significantly. Second, particularly in comparison to university students, who have a higher level of education, CEGEP students were deemed unlikely to have heard of the matched-guise technique before – and as discussed in section 2.3.3, with matched-guise experiments, the participants' ignorance with regard to the methodology is crucial for the elicitation of valid results. Finally, it was hoped that conducting the present research in CEGEPs would also mean that the participants had a certain degree of maturity. As explained in section 1.3.4, Bill 101 grants Quebecers the right to choose between French- and English-speaking institutions once they have reached the level of post-secondary education. As all subjects of the present study must have made this choice before entering CEGEP, there was a high likelihood of them having devoted at least some thought to language issues in Quebec.

With the help of the Directrice des affaires éducatives et de la recherche at the Fédération des cégeps, the researcher established contact with a number of CEGEPs and obtained permission to conduct her investigation in these institutions. Four CEGEPs in total participated in the study: two were French-speaking and two English-speaking. All four of these institutions were publicly funded and offered both pre-university and technical career programmes. Both of the English-language CEGEPs and one of the French-language ones were located in Montreal. Montreal was chosen over any other city in the province since it had also been the location of the majority of previous language attitude studies, and due to its history and unique living conditions

(see chapter 1), it would have been impossible to compare results obtained there to those of research conducted elsewhere in Quebec. The second French-language CEGEP was situated approximately 25 miles outside of Montreal, in a town near the Laurentian mountains. This CEGEP was chosen because one of the original objectives of the present research project had been to investigate the influence that multilingualism (which is here understood to include bilingualism) has on individuals' language attitudes, and it was deemed highly improbable that monolingual francophones (as counter-examples) could be found in a place such as Montreal. The likelihood of finding such individuals in a location such as this town seemed much higher; however, the analysis of the participants' background data (see 5.1) showed that in fact, 93.3% of all participants, including many from that town, claimed to be multilingual. Due to the lack of monolingual counter-examples, the objective of investigating the influence of multilingualism on language attitudes was therefore abandoned.

CEGEP students in the social sciences were considered to be the most appropriate respondents because they were likely to have an interest in taking part in a research project of this nature in order to learn more about their own field. Permission was thus sought – and granted – from a number of psychology and/or sociology teachers at each of the CEGEPs to conduct this study in one or more of their classes. The data presented and analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 was gathered from 164 of the students in these classes.²⁶

Evidently, the sample of respondents of the present study is not representative of the entire Quebec population. Quebecers of different ages and educational levels, for example, are likely to have rather different language attitudes to CEGEP students. Moreover, as Giles and Ryan (1982: 220-221) point out, the evaluative patterns of findings emerging from attitudes research carried out in status-stressing situations (such as schools or universities) could potentially be different from those obtained in contexts where group solidarity is likely to be more important (for example, in neighbourhood recreation centres or in family situations). Since this research was conducted in CEGEPs, which can be considered a status-stressing environment, the

²⁶ The original number of participants in the present study had been 260. Regrettably, Postes Canada lost a parcel that contained the data collected from 95 of these respondents. The information gathered from one further participant was removed from the study since, at the age of 29, he was significantly older than the remaining respondents (see 5.1.1).

results of the present study cannot be generalised without carrying out comparable work among other age groups as well as in solidarity-stressing settings. Nevertheless, conducting this research in CEGEPs has the advantage of allowing for a higher degree of comparability with previous language attitudes studies in Quebec since the majority of these were also carried out among young people and in status-stressing situations (such as schools and universities; see chapter 3).

4.4.2 Ethics and administration of research instruments

Written permission to collect the data for the present study was sought and obtained from the relevant persons at the four CEGEPs, that is, from the ethics boards of the two English-speaking institutions and the head teachers at the two French-speaking ones.

At the outset, it was decided that the researcher should be present to administer the research instruments. Naturally, the researcher's ethnic identity, gender, status, age, social class and language in its verbal and non-verbal forms could have influenced the respondents' behaviour (see section 2.3.2). Nevertheless, it was hoped that the presence of this particular researcher would have only a minimal effect, considering that she was not only young and therefore relatively close in age to the students, but her accent (British when speaking English, and German when speaking French) also signalled that she was from a country which was in no way involved in the issues raised by the study.²⁷ More importantly, the presence of the researcher was deemed desirable for the following three reasons. First, it would cause the teachers' workload to be minimal, which, it was hoped, would increase the chances of a CEGEP granting permission for this study to be conducted in the first place. Second, the presence of the researcher would ensure that students did not discuss their responses amongst each other. Finally, any questions regarding the methodology and/or particular items of the questionnaire or the evaluation sheet could be explained by the researcher in a manner that would be consistent with explanations given in the other classes.

²⁷ Germany has never played a role in the struggle between anglophone and francophone Quebecers, and the researcher's British accent is unlikely to have influenced the participants' responses since, as Avis' states, 'it should be stressed that British Received Standard is *not nowadays* considered a prestige [accent] to be emulated by the educated native-born. Quite the contrary, in fact, for although most people are tolerant of native speakers of British English, they are highly critical of native Canadians who affect British mannerisms' (Avis 1973: 62, emphasis added).

The data for the present study was collected in seven different classes during the months of September and October 2007. The research instruments were administered to all students in a given class at the same time, and the procedure took one lesson in total. At the beginning of the lesson, the matched-guise experiment was conducted by following the standard methodological procedures described in section 2.3.3. The students were promised absolute confidentiality and anonymity. It was also made clear that whether or not they decided to participate would have neither a positive nor a negative influence on their grades, and they were assured that there was no pressure on them to participate simply because the research was being conducted during lesson time. It was stressed that the students had the right to refuse to take part in the research, and that even if they did choose to participate at the beginning, they could withdraw at any time. The matched-guise experiment was conducted with only those students wanting to participate.²⁸

As is typically done in matched-guise studies, the research project was initially described to the subjects as an investigation of the extent to which it is possible to determine a person's characteristics by their voice alone, in much the same way as is done when trying to estimate the personality of an unfamiliar speaker on the radio or at the other end of a telephone (see 2.3.3). After the matched-guise experiment had been conducted, the students therefore had to be debriefed. In addition to giving them a detailed explanation of the actual research purpose, the researcher distributed information sheets detailing all the relevant information as well as further information pertaining to free and informed consent. The students then had the opportunity to ask questions, and they were given the choice of either removing the data elicited from them up until that point from the project, or continuing to participate in the study. If they chose to continue their participation, they were asked to sign a consent form, of which both the students and the researcher kept one copy each.

Subsequently, the language attitudes questionnaire was administered to the students and they were asked to complete it. They had the opportunity to ask the researcher for clarification of questionnaire items they did not understand, and after completing the questionnaire, the students were again given the option of withdrawing from the project. In most of the classes, the remainder of the lesson was spent discussing the

²⁸ In total, only two students decided not to participate in the research project. Both of them made this decision at the beginning of the lesson.

advantages and disadvantages of the different research methods employed, as well as talking about projects the students were hoping to carry out themselves.

In the classes at the English-speaking CEGEPs, the researcher spoke to the students in English and administered the evaluation sheets, information sheets, consent forms and questionnaires in English; in the classes at the French-speaking CEGEPs, the researcher spoke French and administered the materials in French. Giles and Ryan (1982: 218, with reference to Botha 1970, Ervin 1964 and Feldman 1968) note that a number of studies have shown that the language in which bilinguals take a test will likely endear them towards expressing the values and attitudes associated with the language of the setting. Nevertheless, it was decided not to ask the participants in which language they would prefer to fill in the evaluation sheet and questionnaire as this was judged to draw too much attention to the language factor – and as explained above, the participants were initially supposed to be unaware of the fact that the research concerned their language attitudes.

4.4.3 Statistical analyses

Once the questionnaires and evaluation sheets had been collected, the data was coded and entered into the statistical package SPSS. The background information collected from the respondents was studied by way of frequency tables and crosstabulations with Chi-square tests. An initial summary of frequencies revealed an uneven distribution for sex (see 5.1.2.) While tests showed no evidence of significant non-orthogonality, in the light of this uneven distribution, a decision was nevertheless made to perform ANOVAs on the interval data obtained by means of the questionnaire that used mother tongue, immigrant status and sex as the independent variables. In particular, ANOVAs were chosen over t-tests for the first level of analysis so as to avoid any potential for confounding effects. Independent samples t-tests were subsequently performed to compare the respondents' evaluations of English and French. Duncan PostHoc tests were used in order to ascertain which of the differences pertaining to the between-subject variables (that is, mother tongue and immigrant status) were statistically significant.

The data obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment was analysed by means of repeated measures ANOVAs. SPSS does not provide a straightforward method of performing multiple comparisons of within-subject effects since the latter are very

prone to violations of test assumptions. Consequently, the repeated measures ANOVAs were followed by paired samples t-tests that compared each guise with the other two (that is, English with QF, English with EF, and QF with EF) in order to ascertain which of the differences between the three guises were statistically significant.

For the data obtained by means of both, the questionnaire and the matched-guise experiment, correlations with two-tailed tests of significance were used in order to investigate the relation between the amount of time that those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and their evaluations of the different languages/varieties. Correlations with two-tailed tests of significance were also performed in order to investigate the relation between the variety of French spoken by the respondents and their evaluations of QF. It was decided to work with the same level of probability used in most social science research, that is, 0.05 (see e.g. Miller *et al.* 2002: 118).

5. Results of the survey

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the survey on language attitudes that was conducted amongst 164 young Quebecers of different backgrounds in the autumn of 2007. First, section 5.1 introduces the background data elicited from the respondents, which allows for a more in-depth interpretation of the findings examined in the later sections (as well as the results of the matched-guise experiment, which are presented in chapter 6). Subsequently, sections 5.2 to 5.5 present the respondents' evaluations of English versus French, as well as Quebec French (QF) versus European French (EF). These sections examine the respondents' evaluations of each of the languages/varieties in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions in particular. It should be noted that this chapter merely constitutes the presentation of the results obtained by means of the survey; an analysis of these findings in the context of the present social and linguistic situation in Quebec is offered in chapter 7.

5.1 Background data

The data is presented in this section largely in the same order in which the corresponding items appear in the questionnaire: year of study and age of the respondents (5.1.1), sex (5.1.2), place of birth (5.1.3), mother tongue (5.1.4), knowledge of languages (5.1.5), parents' place of birth (5.1.6), parents' languages (5.1.7), the respondents' immigrant status (5.1.8) and the variety of French spoken by the respondents (5.1.9). As mentioned above (see 4.4.1), the figures presented in this chapter only apply to the data of the present survey and cannot be used to make generalisations about the Quebec population as a whole.

5.1.1 Year of study and age

Year of study and age were controlled for in the present study by selecting students from CEGEPs (see 4.4.1). The distribution of students according to year of study shows that the sample consisted mainly of first year and second year students (29% and 59% respectively), but that there were also a few respondents who claimed to be in their third or fourth year of study (10.5% and 1.2% respectively; see table 5.1). As explained previously (see 4.4.1), the pre-university programmes at CEGEPs usually take two years to complete while technical career programmes tend to last three years. Since all subjects in the present study were social science students enrolled in pre-university programmes, the most likely explanations for the fact that there were respondents claiming to be in their third or fourth year appears to be that they were

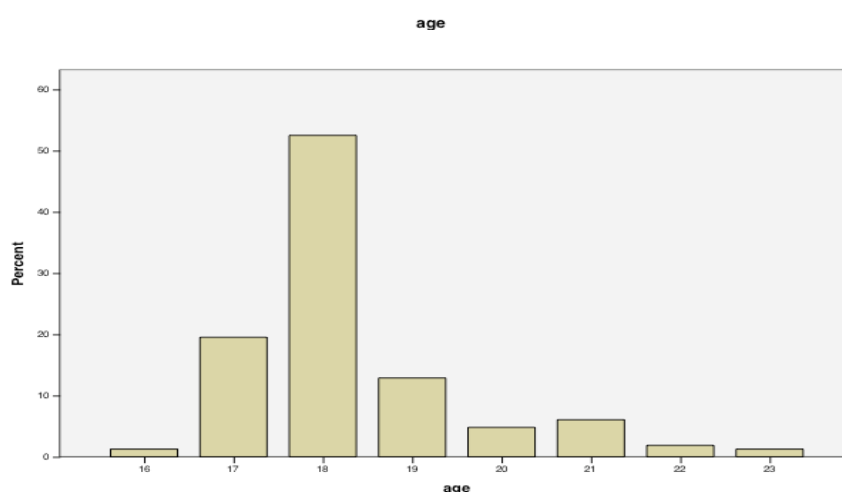
either repeating a year or that they had originally been enrolled in a different CEGEP programme and subsequently changed to social sciences.

Table 5.1: Frequency of year of study. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

Year of study	N	%
First	47	29.0
Second	96	59.3
Third	17	10.5
Fourth	2	1.2
Total	162	100.0
missing cases = 2		

As for the age of the respondents, this ranged from 16 to 23 and the mean age was 18.32 (see figure 5.1). The information gathered from one participant was removed from the study because, at the age of 29, he was significantly older than the remaining respondents and it was feared that this would not only have skewed the mean age but could also have made the data unrepresentative of the target group of the present research, that is, *young* Quebecers.

Figure 5.1: Bar chart of respondents' age.



5.1.2 Sex

The initial summary of frequencies as presented in table 5.2 revealed an uneven distribution for sex, with more than twice as many female participants (71.3%) than males (28.7%). Chi-square tests of sex and mother tongue as well as sex and immigrant status revealed no evidence of significant non-orthogonality. Nevertheless, in the light of this uneven distribution, a decision was made to perform ANOVAs on the interval data obtained by means of the questionnaire that used mother tongue, immigrant status and sex as the independent variables (see 4.4.3). The results of these ANOVAs showed that the variable sex did not have a confounding effect on its own.

Moreover, analyses of the few cases in which it interacted with either mother tongue or immigrant status revealed no systematic or meaningful pattern. For reasons of space and in order not to detract from the main focus of this study, sex will therefore be excluded from the discussion of the survey results which follows in sections 5.2 to 5.5.

Table 5.2: Frequency of respondents' sex. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

Sex	N	%
Male	47	28.7
Female	117	71.3
Total	164	100

5.1.3 Place of birth and time spent in Quebec

As can be seen from table 5.3, the analysis of item 4 showed that a majority of 73.8% of students in the corpus were born in Quebec. Of the 26.2% of respondents who were born elsewhere, 5 were from a Canadian province other than Quebec. The other countries of origin that were mentioned were as follows: Romania in 6 cases; Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Colombia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Turkey in 2 cases each; as well as America, Bangladesh, Bolivia, France, Haiti, Holland, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mexico, Moldova, Peru, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, the Ukraine and Vietnam in 1 case each. In summary, 4.6% of immigrants to Quebec were thus from countries where French has official status (that is, France and Haiti), 23.3% were from countries where English is one of the official languages (that is, America and Canada), and 72.1% had come to Quebec from countries where neither English nor French has official status (Crystal 1995: 357).

Table 5.3: Frequency of respondents' place of birth. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

Place of birth	N	%
Quebec	121	73.8
Outside Quebec	43	26.2
Total	164	100

The time the immigrants had spent in Quebec ranged from 14 months to 18 years and the mean number of months was 117, that is, just under ten years.

5.1.4 Mother tongue

Various different definitions of the concept 'mother tongue' are used in the academic literature as well as in population censuses (see e.g. Fasold 1984: 114-115). In accordance with the definition adopted by Statistics Canada, mother tongue (L1) is in this thesis considered to be 'the first language a person learned at home in childhood and still understands', and it is taken into account that '[s]ome respondents may

declare that they learned two or more languages simultaneously' (Statistics Canada 2009d). As explained above (see 4.2.5.2), where and when respondents had learned the languages they knew was ascertained by means of item 11, while items 6 to 9 sought information about their abilities in each of these languages. The lowest self-reported proficiency level of French among francophones and those who claimed to have both English and French as their mother tongues was 3.75 (out of 5); the lowest self-reported proficiency level of English among anglophones and those who claimed to have both English and French as their mother tongues was 4. However, in the case of both languages, the majority of respondents had a self-reported proficiency level of 5 in their mother tongue(s) (anglophones: 83%, francophones: 58.9%, those who claimed to have both English and French as their mother tongues: 61.5% for both English and French). In this thesis, a mother tongue speaker of a particular language is thus defined as a respondent who reported to have learned that language at home, as an infant, and whose self-reported proficiency level in the language was 3.75 (out of 5) or above. Based on the results obtained by means of items 6 to 9 and 11, respondents were classified into the following four groups of mother tongue speakers: L1 English (and other) (henceforth: anglophones), L1 French (and other) (henceforth: francophones), L1 English and French (and other) (henceforth: English-French bilinguals) and L1 other(s) (henceforth: allophones).²⁹ It should be noted that the term 'English-French bilinguals' (rather than 'those who claimed to have both English and French as their mother tongues') was chosen for brevity's sake. While the majority of respondents were in fact multilingual and many of them stated that they were fluent in both English and French (see 5.1.5), only those who claimed to have learned both languages in childhood, at home, and were still proficient in them are here referred to as English-French bilinguals.

The procedure adopted for the categorisation of mother tongue speakers in this study was deemed to be more rigorous than that of previous investigations such as Lambert *et al.* (1960) (see 3.1.1), in which the researchers had simply considered the students at English-speaking institutions as anglophones and those at French-speaking ones as francophones – thereby potentially wrongly classifying allophones and English-French bilinguals as well as anglophones and francophones who were attending an education institution in a language other than their mother tongue. As seen in table 5.4, in the

²⁹ For the sake of brevity, 'L1 English', 'L1 French', 'L1 English & French' and 'L1 Other' will be used in tables.

present study, only 2.1% of anglophones attended a French-speaking CEGEP. However, it is noteworthy that a sizeable 16.1% of francophones attended an English-speaking one. (It should be noted that in both cases, this is less than would have been expected statistically; $p < 0.001$). 84.6% of English-French bilinguals attended an English-speaking CEGEP and only 15.4% a French-speaking one. Moreover, 95.8% of allophones (significantly more than could have been expected statistically; $p < 0.001$) attended an English-speaking institution and a mere 4.2% a French-speaking one. Had the same procedure for the classification of respondents into mother tongue groups been adopted as in some of the previous studies, many respondents would therefore have been classified incorrectly.

Table 5.4: Crosstabulation of mother tongue and CEGEP. Observed numbers (N), expected numbers (Ne), percentages (%) and results of Chi-square test.

CEGEP	L1 English			L1 French			L1 English & French			L1 Other		
	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%
English-speaking	43	32.1	97.9	9	38.2	16.1	11	8.9	84.6	46	32.8	95.8
French-speaking	1	14.9	2.1	47	17.8	83.9	2	4.1	15.4	2	15.2	4.2
Total	44	44	100	56	56	100	13	13	100	48	48	100

$\chi^2 = 107.93$; df = 3; sig. = 0.000

The basic frequencies of the different mother tongue groups as found in the present study can be seen in table 5.5, which shows that there were slightly more francophone respondents (34.1%) than there were anglophones (28.7%) and allophones (29.3%), and that the number of English-French bilinguals was rather small (7.9%). The languages mentioned as mother tongues other than English and/or French were the following: Italian in 8 cases; Romanian and Spanish in 6 cases each; Mandarin in 4 cases; Arabic, Polish, Russian and Urdu in 3 cases each; Bulgarian, Turkish and Vietnamese in 2 cases each; as well as Bengali, Cambodian, Farsi, Gujarati, Ilocano and Tamil in 1 case each.

Table 5.5: Frequency of mother tongue (L1) groups. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

L1	N	%
English	47	28.7
French	56	34.1
English and French	13	7.9
Other	48	29.3
Total	164	100

It should be noted that the sample size of English-French bilinguals is likely to be too small to produce reliable and meaningful results. Consequently, while the results pertaining to this group are included in the presentation of findings in sections 5.2 to

5.5 (as well as 6.1 and 6.2), they will not be discussed in the analysis of these findings that is provided in chapter 7.

As noted above (see 1.3.6 and 3.3.1), speakers of Romance languages have been found to be more likely to integrate into Quebec's francophone community than speakers of languages from other families. This integration pattern could be an indication of more positive attitudes towards French on their part. Evidently, it would therefore have been of interest to subdivide the allophone respondents of the present study into Romance language speakers and non-Romance language speakers. However, only 20 of the respondents (that is, the Italian, Romanian and Spanish speakers) had a Romance language as their mother tongue. The smallness of this group would have been likely to affect the validity of the findings obtained by a separate analysis of these speakers. Therefore, no separate analysis was conducted for those allophones whose mother tongue was a Romance language.

5.1.5 Knowledge of languages

As can be seen from table 5.6, only 6.7% of respondents claimed to be monolingual. The remaining 90.3% can thus be classified as multilingual. (As mentioned in section 4.4.1, the definition of multilingualism used in this thesis includes bilingualism and trilingualism.) Consequently, the initial aim of investigating the influence of multilingualism on language attitudes was abandoned due to the lack of monolingual counter examples. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that among those respondents claiming to be multilingual, 99.3% listed English, and 98% French, as one of their languages.

Table 5.6: Frequency of knowledge of languages. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%). N.B. The fact that the percentages in this table do not add up to exactly 100 is due to rounding.

Knowledge of languages	N	%
Monolingual	11	6.7
Bilingual	75	45.7
Trilingual	66	40.2
Multilingual	12	7.3
Total	164	99.9

5.1.6 Parents' place of birth

50.6% of the respondents' mothers were from Quebec. Of the 49.4% who were born elsewhere, 7 were from a Canadian province other than Quebec. The other countries of origin that were mentioned were Italy in 12 cases; Romania in 7 cases; Lebanon in 5 cases; the Philippines in 4 cases; America, China, Pakistan and Vietnam in 3 cases

each; Bosnia, Bulgaria, Colombia, Egypt, France, Haiti, India and Poland in 2 cases each; as well as Argentina, Barbados, Cambodia, Iran, Jamaica, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Sri Lanka, St. Vincent, Sweden, Taiwan, the Ukraine and Venezuela in 1 case each. In summary, 4.9% of those mothers who had emigrated to Quebec had thus come from countries where French has official status (that is, France and Haiti), 28.4% from countries where English is one of the official languages (that is, America, Barbados, Canada, India, Jamaica, Pakistan, the Philippines, Scotland and St. Vincent) and 66.7% had emigrated to Quebec from countries where neither English nor French has official status (Crystal 1995: 357). The time the emigrated mothers had spent in Quebec ranged from 18 months to 49 years; the mean number of months was 228, that is, 19 years (10 missing cases).

46.8% of the respondents' fathers were from Quebec (8 missing cases). Of the 53.2% who were born elsewhere, 6 were from a Canadian province other than Quebec. The other countries of origin that were mentioned were Italy in 18 cases; Romania in 7 cases; China, England, Lebanon, the Philippines, Poland and Vietnam in 3 cases each; Argentina, Bulgaria, Egypt, Haiti, India, Jamaica and Pakistan in 2 cases each; as well as America, Bosnia, Cambodia, Colombia, France, French Guiana, Greece, Guyana, Kuwait, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Sri Lanka, St. Vincent, Tanzania, Turkey and the Ukraine in 1 case each (7 missing cases). In summary, of those fathers who had emigrated to Quebec, 4.8% had thus come from countries where French has official status (that is, France, French Guiana and Haiti), 26.2% from countries where English is one of the official languages (that is, America, Canada, England, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Pakistan, the Philippines, St. Vincent and Tanzania) and 69% had emigrated to Quebec from countries where neither English nor French has official status (Crystal 1995: 357). The time the emigrated fathers had spent in Quebec ranged from 18 months to 54 years; the mean number of months was 216, that is, 18 years (20 missing cases).

5.1.7 Parents' languages

56.1% of respondents' mothers used English and 61.6% French as their main language or one of their main languages at the time this research was conducted. Of those mothers who had emigrated to Quebec, only 30.1% had used English and 11% French as their main language or one of their main languages before coming to the province (8 missing cases). These figures roughly match the 28.4% of mothers who had emigrated

from countries where English is one of the official languages and the 4.9% who had moved to Quebec from countries where French has official status (see 5.1.6). The languages mentioned as mother tongues by those mothers who had emigrated to Quebec (sometimes on their own, sometimes in combination with English, French or another language) were Italian in 14 cases; Romanian and Spanish in 7 cases each; Arabic in 5 cases; Mandarin and Russian in 4 cases each; Urdu and Vietnamese in 3 cases each; Bulgarian, Gujarati, Haitian Creole, Polish and Tagalog in 2 cases each; as well as Bengali, Cambodian, Farsi, Ilocano, Jamaican Creole, Portuguese, German, Serbian, Swedish, Turkish and Bosnian in 1 case each (19 missing cases or ‘don’t know’ answers).

61.7% of respondents’ fathers used English and 58% French as their main language or one of their main languages at the time this research was conducted (2 missing cases). Of those fathers who had emigrated to Quebec, only 29.7% had used English and 9.5% French as their main language or one of their main languages before emigrating to the province (17 missing cases). These figures roughly match the 26.2% of fathers who had emigrated from countries where English is one of the official languages and the 4.8% who had emigrated to Quebec from countries where French has official status (see 5.1.6). The languages mentioned as mother tongues by those fathers who had emigrated to Quebec (sometimes on their own, sometimes in combination English, French or another language) were Italian in 18 cases; Romanian in 7 cases; Spanish in 6 cases; Mandarin and Russian in 4 cases each; Turkish, Urdu and Vietnamese in 3 cases each; Bulgarian, Haitian Creole, Polish and Tagalog in 2 cases each; as well as Bengali, Cambodian, Farsi, French Guiana Creole, German, Greek, Gujarati, Ilocano, Kachi, Portuguese, Serbian, Sinhala and Swahili in 1 case each (15 missing cases and ‘don’t know’ answers).

5.1.8 Immigrant status

Analyses of items 4, 12 and 15 (that is, the respondents’ own as well as their parents’ place of birth; see 5.1.3 and 5.1.7) served to determine what is here referred to as the participants’ immigrant status. Respondents who were born in Quebec and whose parents were also both natives of the province were classified as ‘non-immigrants’ (36.6%); those who were born in Quebec but had at least one parent who was born elsewhere were classified as ‘Quebecers of immigrant descent’ (36.6%); and

respondents who themselves were born outside of the province were classified as ‘immigrants to Quebec’ (26.7%; see table 5.7).

Table 5.7: Frequency of immigrant status groups. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%). N.B. The fact that the percentages in this table do not add up to exactly 100 is due to rounding.

Immigrant status	N	%
Non-immigrant	59	36.6
Immigrant descent	59	36.6
Immigrant	43	26.7
Total	161	99.9
missing cases = 3		

Each mother tongue group included non-immigrants, Quebecers of immigrant descent as well as immigrants to the province. It is not surprising that the majority of the immigrants were allophones (74.4%). Most Quebecers of immigrant descent were anglophones (47.5%) and the majority of non-immigrants had French as their mother tongue (62.7%; see table 5.8). While the distribution of the various immigrant statuses was uneven for the different mother tongue groups, any possible confounding effect was impeded by the fact that the respondents’ language attitudes were analysed by means of ANOVAs that used immigrant status (alongside mother tongue and sex) as one of the independent variables. In a number of cases, the respondents’ immigrant status had a main effect on their language attitudes, and these main effects are discussed below (see 5.2 to 5.5). The small numbers of respondents in the different mother tongue/immigrant status groups (that is, non-immigrants, Quebecers of immigrant descent and actual immigrants of each different mother tongue group) constitute a likely explanation for the fact that no systematic or meaningful patterns were revealed by those few instances in which immigrant status interacted with mother tongue. For reasons of space and in order not to detract from the most interesting and relevant results, these interactions are therefore not discussed.

Table 5.8: Crosstabulation of mother tongue (L1) and immigrant status. Observed numbers (N), expected numbers (Ne), percentages (%) and results of Chi-square test.

L1	Non-immigrant			Immigrant descent			Immigrant		
	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%
English	12	16.5	20.3	28	16.6	47.5	5	12	11.6
French	37	20.2	62.7	14	20.2	23.7	4	14.7	9.3
English & French	6	4.8	10.2	5	4.8	8.5	2	3.5	4.7
Other	4	17.6	6.8	12	17.6	20.3	32	12.8	74.4
Total	59	59	100	59	59	100	43	43	100
missing cases = 3			$\chi^2 = 79.02$; df = 6; sig. = 0.000						

Finally, it is interesting to note that significantly more immigrants and Quebecers of immigrant descent (86% and 84.7% respectively) chose to attend an English-speaking CEGEP than would have been expected statistically, while significantly more non-immigrants than would have been expected (61%) chose to attend a French-speaking CEGEP ($p < 0.001$; see table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Crosstabulation of CEGEP and immigrant status. Observed numbers (N), expected numbers (Ne), percentages (%) and results of Chi-square test.

CEGEP	Non-immigrant			Immigrant descent			Immigrant		
	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%
English-speaking	23	40.3	39.0	50	40.3	84.7	37	29.4	86.0
French-speaking	36	18.7	61.0	9	18.7	15.3	6	13.6	14.0
Total	59	59	100	59	59	100	43	43	100

missing cases = 3 $\chi^2 = 37.06$; df = 2; sig. = 0.000

5.1.9 Variety of French spoken

The respondents were asked to rate their variety of French on a 5-point scale, where 1 represented QF and 5 EF. Points 1 and 2 are subsumed here under ‘(closer to) QF’, points 4 and 5 under ‘(closer to) EF’ and point 3 is referred to as ‘in between QF and EF’. As can be seen in table 5.10, the majority of respondents claimed to speak either QF or a variety of French that is close to it (62.7%), followed by those respondents claiming to speak a variety that is in between QF and EF (23.6%). Only a relatively small percentage of participants claimed to speak EF or a variety of French that is close to it (13.7%).

Table 5.10: Frequency of variety of French spoken. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

Variety of French	N	%
(Closer to) QF	101	62.7
In between QF & EF	38	23.6
(Closer to) EF	22	13.7
Total	161	100

missing cases = 3

Table 5.11 shows that upon closer observation of the individual mother tongue groups, this overall pattern was found to apply to the anglophones, francophones and the English-French bilinguals: the majority claimed to speak QF or a variety of French close to it (59.1%, 69.6% and 76.9% respectively), followed by those who claimed to speak a variety that is in between QF and EF (27.3%, 23.2% and 23.1% respectively). Only a minority among the anglophones and francophones (13.6% and 7.1% respectively) and none of the English-French bilinguals claimed to speak EF or a variety of French close to it. The only, albeit not statistically significant, exception to

this pattern were the allophones: while the majority among them also claimed to speak QF or a variety of French close to it (54.2%), this was followed by those who considered themselves to speak EF or a variety of French close to it (25.0%) and only a minority of allophones claimed to speak a variety of French in between QF and EF (20.8%).

Table 5.11: Crosstabulation of mother tongue (L1) and variety of French spoken. Observed numbers (N), expected numbers (Ne), percentages (%) and results of Chi-square test.

Variety of French	L1 English			L1 French			L1 English & French			L1 Other		
	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%
(Closer to) QF	26	27.6	59.1	39	35.1	69.6	10	8.2	76.9	26	30.1	54.2
In between QF & EF	12	10.4	27.3	13	13.2	23.2	3	3.1	23.1	10	11.3	20.8
(Closer to) EF	6	6.0	13.6	4	7.7	7.1	0	1.8	0	12	6.6	25.0
Total	44	44	100	56	56	100	13	13	100	48	48	100
missing cases = 3							$\chi^2 = 9.94$; df = 6; sig. = 0.127					

Table 5.12 shows that the findings obtained upon closer inspection of the different immigrant status groups parallel those of the different mother tongue groups: the majority of non-immigrants and Quebecers of immigrant descent claimed to speak either QF or a variety of French that is close to it (66.1% and 70.2% respectively), followed by those who considered themselves to speak a variety that is in between QF and EF (27.1% and 19.3% respectively). Only a small percentage of non-immigrants and Quebecers of immigrant descent claimed to speak EF or a variety of French that is close to it (6.8% and 10.5% respectively). Again, there was only one exception to this pattern: while the majority of immigrants also considered themselves to speak QF or a variety of French close to it (47.6%), there were just as many immigrants who claimed to speak EF or a variety of French that is close to it than respondents claiming to speak a variety that is in between QF and EF (26.2%). The number of immigrants claiming to speak EF or something resembling it was significantly higher than what had been statistically predicted ($p < 0.05$).

Table 5.12: Crosstabulation of immigrant status and variety of French spoken. Observed numbers (N), expected numbers (Ne), percentages (%) and results of Chi-square test.

Variety of French	Non-immigrant			Immigrant descent			Immigrant		
	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%	N	Ne	%
(Closer to) QF	39	37	66.1	40	35.7	70.2	20	26.3	47.6
In between QF & EF	16	14.2	27.1	11	13.7	19.3	11	10.1	26.2
(Closer to) EF	4	7.8	6.8	6	7.6	10.5	11	5.6	26.2
Total	59	59	100	57	57	100	42	42	100
missing cases = 6							$\chi^2 = 10.46$; df = 4; sig. = 0.033		

5.2 Attitudes towards English

The data presented in this section pertains to Quebecers' attitudes towards English in general (5.2.1) as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions in particular (5.2.2 and 5.2.3 respectively). In addition to presenting the pertinent findings, this section also investigates whether a correlation exists between the number of months those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province on the one hand, and their attitudes towards English on the other hand (5.2.4).

5.2.1 Attitudes in general

General information regarding attitudes towards English was elicited by means of items 18 and 22. Table 5.13 shows the results obtained with these items. Item 18 made reference to the English language only, without comparing it to French, and the results show clearly that all mother tongue groups considered English to be beautiful (means between 1.6 and 1.8). However, with respect to the comparative item 22, only the anglophones thought English to be richer than French (mean = 2.7) while the remaining mother tongue groups did not think that this was the case (means between 3.1 and 3.9). Since none of the differences between the groups were statistically significant, the overall tendency suggests that the respondents either evaluated English and French equally favourably in terms of richness, or, possibly, that they evaluated French even more positively than English. Regrettably, it cannot be established from the present data which of these possibilities applies. The variable immigrant status did not have an effect on the respondents' evaluations of English in general.

Table 5.13: Evaluations of English in general. Item number, mother tongue group (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
18: English is a beautiful language	English	45	1.6	0.482	3 - 138	0.696
	French	55	1.8			
	English & French	13	1.4			
	Other	48	1.7			
22: English is richer than French	English	45	2.7	2.080	3 - 138	0.106
	French	55	3.9			
	English & French	13	3.1			
	Other	48	3.2			

To some extent, general information regarding attitudes towards English was also elicited with item 26, which asked respondents to draw up a list of the five words they thought most suitable to describe the English language. As explained in section 4.2.5.3, the aim of this more open-ended question (as well as the more open-ended questions pertaining to French in general and QF in particular, that is, items 35 and 46;

see 5.3.1 and 5.5.1) was to obtain some qualitative data in the hope that this would lend support to the findings of the closed questions. The words obtained by means of the open-ended questions were categorised into four groups: ‘general – positive’, ‘general – negative’, ‘status-related’ and ‘solidarity-related’. It has to be borne in mind that this categorisation was a subjective one, based merely the researcher’s perception of matters. (Consequently, it was not ascertained whether the different percentages of the words in the four categories are in fact statistically significant.) Nevertheless, it can be noted that on the whole, the findings obtained by means of the more open-ended items do indeed support the trends observed from the results of the closed questions. The findings obtained by means of item 26 suggest that in general, positive attitudes towards English prevailed among the respondents from all mother tongue groups (see appendix G for a list of the words used to describe English). The majority of words chosen in order to describe the language could not unequivocally be categorised as indicating attitudes on either the status or the solidarity dimension, yet were clearly favourable (anglophones: 58.9%, francophones: 36.0%, English-French bilinguals: 61.5%, allophones: 56.9%). These words were therefore considered to indicate positive attitudes in general. Many of the words chosen referred to the easy and straightforward nature of the language. Others concerned its niceness, coolness, accessibility and popularity, and a few made reference to its beauty and richness. Only a rather small portion of the words used were negative (anglophones: 7.4%, francophones: 8.4%, English-French bilinguals: 1.9%, allophones: 5.7%). Examples of these are ‘snob’, ‘boastful’, ‘boring’, ‘lazy’ and ‘choppy’. Overall, the findings thus suggest positive attitudes towards English in general amongst the respondents from all mother tongue and immigrant status groups.

5.2.2 Attitudes on the status dimension

Attitudes towards English on the status dimension were measured by means of items 19, 21 and 24 (see table 5.14). The evaluations made by the respondents from all mother tongue groups can be seen to indicate positive attitudes towards the English language on this dimension as well. The respondents deemed English to be a language that is well suited to modern society (means between 1.2 and 1.5; while initial analyses would seem to indicate a significant effect of the variable mother tongue, further scrutiny by means of PostHoc tests revealed that all mother tongue groups in fact form a homogeneous subset.) They also agreed that knowing English would increase their opportunities to find employment (means between 1.1 and 1.6), and they unanimously

confirmed the importance of knowing English in order to get far in life (means between 1.8 and 2.2). Again, the variable immigrant status did not affect the respondents' evaluations.

Table 5.14: Evaluations of English on the status dimension. Item number, mother tongue group (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
19: English is a language that is well suited to modern society	English	45	1.2	5.096	3 - 138	0.002
	French	55	1.5			
	English & French	13	1.5			
	Other	48	1.5			
21: Knowing English will increase my opportunities to find employment	English	45	1.6	0.802	3 - 138	0.495
	French	55	1.1			
	English & French	13	1.4			
	Other	48	1.3			
24: English is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life	English	44	1.8	1.883	3 - 137	0.135
	French	55	2.0			
	English & French	13	2.2			
	Other	48	1.8			

To a certain extent, attitudes towards English on the status dimension were also elicited with the open-ended item 26. The findings obtained by means of this item corroborate the notion that the respondents held positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension, as assumed on the basis of the findings elicited by the closed questions. The second-largest percentage of the words that the anglophones, francophones, the English-French bilinguals and the allophones used to describe the English language (23.2%, 35.6%, 30.8% and 24.7% respectively) concerned its global recognition, its usefulness, its indispensable role in modern life, or made reference to the superiority of English in education and business.

5.2.3 Attitudes on the solidarity dimension

Attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension were measured by means of items 20, 23 and 25. As evidenced by table 5.15, on this dimension, too, the respondents from all mother tongue groups evaluated English in a manner suggestive of positive attitudes. They judged it to be a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions, with a Duncan PostHoc test revealing that the anglophones considered this to be the case significantly more so than the allophones and the francophones (means = 1.5, 2.2 and 2.8 respectively; $p < 0.01$). The respondents from all mother tongue groups also unanimously agreed that knowing English constitutes a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage (means between 1.7 and 2.6), and they deemed the language to be an important part of their personal identity (means between

1.6 and 2.8). In terms of the solidarity dimension, too, the respondents' immigrant status did not have an influence on their evaluations of English.

Table 5.15: Evaluations of English on the solidarity dimension. Item number, mother tongue group (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
20: English is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions	English	45	1.5	5.885	3 - 138	0.001
	French	55	2.8			
	English & French	13	1.8			
	Other	48	2.2			
23: Knowing English is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage	English	45	1.8	2.528	3 - 137	0.060
	French	54	2.6			
	English & French	13	1.7			
	Other	48	1.7			
25: Knowing English is an important part of my personal identity	English	45	1.6	0.480	3 - 138	0.697
	French	55	2.8			
	English & French	13	1.8			
	Other	48	2.2			

The findings obtained by means of the open-ended item 26 revealed that all mother tongue groups except the francophones used only a rather small number of words to describe English that could unequivocally be classified as indicating positive attitudes on the solidarity dimension (anglophones: 3.7%, English-French bilinguals: 1.9%, allophones: 1.7%). Examples of these few instances include references to Canada's cultural heritage as well as adjectives such as 'emotional' and 'defining'. The francophones did not use any such words at all. However, these figures do not necessarily mean that the respondents did not have positive attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension. It could simply be the case that they *primarily* associated the language with status and prestige and therefore spontaneously deemed words that describe the language positively on that dimension to be most suitable.³⁰

5.2.4 Correlations and summary

As evidenced by table 5.16, no statistically significant correlation was found to exist between the amount of time that those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and their evaluations of the English language.

³⁰ It should also be noted that a certain number of words employed by respondents from all mother tongue groups in order to describe the English language were neither clearly positive or negative, nor did they unequivocally pertain to the status or the solidarity dimension. Examples include words such as 'vast', 'non', 'short', 'ice cream' and 'song', as well as celebrity names (such as that of ice hockey player Mike Ribeiro) and expressions like 'sex drugs rock and roll'.

Table 5.16: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between number of months spent in Quebec and evaluations of English among immigrants. Dimension, item number, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Item	N	r	sig.
general	18: English is a beautiful language	45	- 0.233	0.123
	22: English is richer than French	45	- 0.171	0.262
status	19: English is a language that is well suited to modern society	45	- 0.006	0.969
	21: Knowing English will increase my opportunities to find employment	45	+ 0.060	0.693
	24: English is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life	45	+ 0.175	0.256
solidarity	20: English is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions	45	- 0.123	0.422
	23: Knowing English is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage	45	- 0.154	0.314
	25: Knowing English is an important part of my personal identity	45	- 0.029	0.848

Overall, the results of the questionnaire suggest that the respondents had positive attitudes towards the English language in all respects: in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions. The respondents' mother tongue had a main effect on their evaluations in only one case, namely item 20 ('English is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions'), suggesting that the anglophones had more positive attitudes towards their mother tongue regarding the solidarity dimension than the francophones and the allophones did. The respondents' immigrant status did not have a main effect on their evaluations of English on any of the dimensions, and no correlation was found to exist between the length of time those respondents who were immigrants had spent in Quebec and their attitudes towards the English language.

5.3 Attitudes towards French

The data presented in this section pertains to Quebecers' attitudes towards French in general (5.3.1) as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions in particular (5.3.2 and 5.3.3 respectively). In addition to presenting the pertinent findings, this section also investigates whether a correlation exists between the number of months those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province on the one hand, and their attitudes towards French on the other hand (5.3.4).

5.3.1 Attitudes in general

General information regarding attitudes towards French was elicited by items 27 and 31. It can be seen from table 5.17 that the respondents of all mother tongue groups evaluated the French language positively. Item 27 made reference to French only, without comparing it to English, and the results show clearly that the respondents from

all mother tongue groups thought of the French language as beautiful (means between 1.3 and 1.9). Furthermore, when they were asked whether they found French more elegant than English (item 31), the speakers of all mother tongue groups responded affirmatively. A Duncan PostHoc test revealed that the francophone respondents evaluated the French language significantly more positively in this respect (mean = 1.9) than the anglophones and the English-French bilinguals (means = 2.8 and 2.7 respectively; $p < 0.01$). The respondents' immigrant status did not have an effect on their evaluations of French in general.

Table 5.17: Evaluations of French in general. Item number, mother tongue group (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
V27: French is a beautiful language	English	45	1.9	2.126	3 - 138	0.100
	French	55	1.3			
	English & French	13	1.3			
	Other	48	1.8			
V31: French is more elegant than English	English	45	2.8	5.555	3 - 138	0.001
	French	55	1.9			
	English & French	13	2.7			
	Other	48	2.3			

To a certain extent, general information regarding attitudes towards French was also elicited with item 35, which asked respondents to draw up a list of the five words they thought most suitable to describe the French language (see appendix H for a list of the words used to describe French). The findings obtained by means of this item corroborate the impression obtained by means of the closed questions, that is, the notion that the respondents of this study, regardless of their background, held positive attitudes towards French in general. As had been the case with English, the majority of the words chosen by the respondents from each mother tongue group in order to describe the language could not unequivocally be categorised as indicating attitudes on either the status or the solidarity dimension, yet were clearly favourable (anglophones: 45.5%, francophones: 52.8%, English-French bilinguals: 48.1%, allophones: 50.3%). Many of the words chosen by the respondents from all mother tongue groups made reference to the romantic and elegant nature of the French language and touched on culture, art, creativity as well as literature in general and poetry in particular. Many others concerned its beauty and richness or pertained to its delicacy, magnificence, sensuality, depth, precision, descriptiveness and sophistication. However, despite these many positive descriptions of the language, and unlike what had been the case for English, many of the respondents also used negative words to describe French (anglophones: 27.0%, francophones: 14.7%, English-French bilinguals: 22.2%,

allophones: 25.4%). Examples of these are ‘difficult’, ‘complicated’, ‘hard’, ‘frustrating’, ‘nerve-racking’, ‘minor’, ‘less important’, and in one case (surprisingly, that of a francophone non-immigrant) even the comment ‘*Je suis Canadien pas Québécois*’ – ‘I am Canadian, not *Québécois*’.

5.3.2 Attitudes on the status dimension

Table 5.18 shows that the respondents of all mother tongue groups evaluated the French language positively on the status dimension (as measured by items 28, 30 and 33). They considered French to be well suited to modern society (means between 2.1 and 2.5), deemed knowledge of French to increase their opportunities to find employment (means between 1.4 and 1.8), and also judged knowledge of French to be important in order to get far in life (means between 1.9 and 2.5). The respondents thus demonstrated what can be interpreted as positive attitudes towards French on the status dimension. Neither the respondents’ mother tongue nor their immigrant status had a significant effect on their evaluations.

Table 5.18: Evaluations of French on the status dimension. Item number, mother tongue group (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don’t really agree, 5 = don’t agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
28: French is a language that is well suited to modern society	English	45	2.2	0.878	3 - 138	0.454
	French	55	2.3			
	English & French	13	2.1			
	Other	48	2.5			
30: Knowing French will increase my opportunities to find employment	English	45	1.4	0.491	3 - 138	0.689
	French	55	1.8			
	English & French	13	1.5			
	Other	48	1.6			
33: French is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life	English	45	1.9	2.129	3 - 138	0.099
	French	55	2.4			
	English & French	13	2.4			
	Other	48	2.5			

The findings obtained by means of the open-ended item 35 corroborate the impression that the respondents of this study, regardless of their background, held positive attitudes towards French on the status dimension – albeit possibly to a lesser extent than had been the case for English, since the percentages of words chosen to describe the latter positively on the status dimension were much higher (see 5.2.2). 6.7% of the words chosen by the anglophones, 7.1% of those chosen by the francophones, 13.0% of those of the English-French bilinguals, as well as 8.3% of those selected by the allophones could unequivocally be classified as indicating positive attitudes towards French on the status dimension. As with English, many of these descriptions made

reference to education and business or were concerned with the usefulness of the language.

Yet comments made by a number of the respondents in the margins of their survey forms raise the question whether it was the French language *per se* that was being rated positively on the status dimension or whether the favourable evaluations in this respect only applied to the Quebec setting. One respondent, for example, had agreed completely that knowing French would increase one's opportunities to find employment (item 30) but had added '*c'est relatif: si c'est au Québec, oui*' – 'it's relative: if it's in Quebec, yes'. Similarly, two further respondents agreed completely that French is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life (item 33) but both felt the need to clarify 'in Quebec'. Another respondent had used the phrase 'useful – in Quebec' to describe the French language (item 35).

5.3.3 Attitudes on the solidarity dimension

Attitudes towards the French language on the solidarity dimension were measured by means of items 29, 32 and 34. As evidenced by table 5.19, the respondents from all mother tongue groups evaluated French favourably on this dimension. They thought of French as a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions (means between 1.4 and 2.1), judged knowledge of French to be a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage (means between 1.6 and 2.0) and deemed the language to be a significant part of their personal identity. The francophones (mean = 1.3) considered French to be significantly more important in this latter respect than the English-French bilinguals (mean = 1.9), and these, in turn, viewed French as more important in this respect than the anglophones and the allophones did (means = 2.5 and 2.6 respectively; $p < 0.001$). Overall, the results can be seen to indicate positive attitudes towards French on the solidarity dimension, and they suggest that the attitudes were particularly favourable among the francophones. The respondents' immigrant status did not have an influence on their evaluations.

Table 5.19: Evaluations of French on the solidarity dimension. Item number, mother tongue group (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
29: French is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions	English	45	2.1	0.597	3 - 138	0.618
	French	55	1.4			
	English & French	13	1.4			
	Other	48	1.9			
32: Knowing French is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage	English	45	2.0	0.548	3 - 137	0.650
	French	54	1.7			
	English & French	13	1.6			
	Other	48	2.0			
34: Knowing French is an important part of my personal identity	English	45	2.5	7.813	3 - 138	0.000
	French	55	1.3			
	English & French	13	1.9			
	Other	48	2.6			

The findings obtained by means of item 35 lend further support to the notion that the respondents of this study, regardless of their background, had positive attitudes towards French on the solidarity dimension. A sizeable percentage of the words chosen by the anglophones, francophones, the English-French bilinguals and the allophones in order to describe the French language could unequivocally be classified as indicating positive attitudes on the solidarity dimension (8.4%, 12.7%, 5.6% and 8.3% respectively). Many of these words pertained to Quebec's as well as Canada's history and cultural heritage; others concerned feelings and emotions or made reference to communication with friends. The francophones and the English-French bilinguals also selected words connected to their family as well as their own identity.³¹

5.3.4 Correlations and summary

As evidenced by table 5.20, no statistically significant correlation was found to exist between the amount of time that those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and their evaluations of the French language, except in one case, namely item 28 ('French is a language that is well suited to modern society'). The less time the immigrants had spent in Quebec, the less well suited they considered the French language to be to modern society ($r = -0.419$, $p < 0.01$). As explained previously (see 4.2.5.3), on the basis of the assumption that a language's suitability to modern society implies its usefulness, item 28 sought to investigate the utilitarian value that is attributed to the French language.

³¹ As had been the case for English, a certain number of words employed by all mother tongue groups were neither clearly positive or negative, nor did they unequivocally pertain to the status or the solidarity dimension. Examples include words such as 'fast', 'linguistic', 'orthography' and 'rare' as well as celebrity names (such as that of ice hockey player Guillaume Latendresse).

Table 5.20: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between number of months spent in Quebec and evaluations of French among immigrants. Dimension, item number, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Item	N	r	sig.
general	27: French is a beautiful language	45	- 0.263	0.081
	31: French is more elegant than English	45	+ 0.109	0.475
status	28: French is a language that is well suited to modern society	45	- 0.419	0.004
	30: Knowing French will increase my opportunities to find employment	45	- -.205	0.177
	33: French is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life	45	- 0.174	0.253
solidarity	29: French is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions	45	- 0.141	0.356
	32: Knowing French is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage	45	- 0.174	0.253
	34: Knowing French is an important part of my personal identity	45	- 0.152	0.318

Overall, the results of the closed items in the questionnaire thus seem to suggest that the respondents had positive attitudes towards the French language, both in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions. The findings obtained with the open-ended item support this, yet indicate that the respondents' attitudes towards French might in fact have been less positive than those towards English, particularly on the status dimension. The comments made by a number of respondents in the margins of their survey forms lend further support to this notion and raise the question whether it was the French language *per se* that was being rated positively on the status dimension or whether the favourable evaluations in this respect actually only applied to the Quebec setting. It was also noted that there was a negative correlation between the length of time immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and the utilitarian value they attributed to French. The respondents' mother tongue had a main effect on their evaluations in two cases, namely item 31 ('French is more elegant than English') and item 34 ('Knowing French is an important part of my personal identity'), suggesting that the francophones had more positive attitudes towards their mother tongue in general and regarding the solidarity dimension than the other mother tongue groups did. The respondents' immigrant status did not affect their evaluations of the French language on any of the dimensions.

5.4 Attitudes towards English versus French

Overall, the survey results presented in the preceding sections seemed to suggest that the respondents had positive attitudes towards both English and French, in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions. However, it appears that their attitudes towards French, particularly on the status dimension, might have been less positive

than those towards English. Independent samples t-tests were thus performed in order to ascertain whether or not this was in fact the case, as well as to compare the respondents' attitudes towards English and French in general and the solidarity dimension.

Items 22 ('English is richer than French') and 31 ('French is more elegant than English') are comparative in themselves, and the results obtained with these items by means of the ANOVAs already revealed the respondents' attitudes towards English versus French with regard to richness and elegance (see 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). Hence, these items are not discussed again in this section.

5.4.1 Attitudes in general

The results presented in table 5.21 show that while the respondents from all mother tongue groups agreed that both English and French are beautiful languages, the anglophones and the francophones in fact evaluated their own mother tongue more favourably than the other language (anglophones' means for English and French = 1.6 and 1.9 respectively, $p < 0.05$; francophones' means = 1.8 and 1.3 respectively, $p < 0.01$).

Table 5.21: Independent samples t-tests of the different mother tongue groups' evaluations of English and French in general. Item number, language evaluated, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	Language evaluated	L1	N	Mean	t	df	sig.
18/27: ... is a beautiful language	English	English	47	1.6	- 2.406	92	0.018
	French		47	1.9			
	English	French	56	1.8	+ 3.539	109	0.001
	French		56	1.3			
	English	English & French	13	1.4	+ 0.397	24	0.695
	French		13	1.3			
	English	Other	48	1.7	- 0.464	94	0.644
	French		48	1.8			

The respondents from all immigrant status groups also considered both English and French to be very beautiful, yet as evidenced by table 5.22, the non-immigrants in fact evaluated French more favourably than English (means for English and French = 1.7 and 1.4 respectively; $p < 0.05$).

Table 5.22: Independent samples t-tests of the different immigrant status groups' evaluations of English and French in general. Item number, language evaluated, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	Language evaluated	immigrant status	N	Mean	t	df	sig.
V18/27: ... is a beautiful language	English	non-immigrant	59	1.7	+ 2.610	100	0.010
	French		59	1.4			
	English	immigrant-descent	59	1.7	- 1.166	99	0.246
	French		59	1.9			
	English	immigrant	43	1.7	+ 0.130	84	0.897
	French		43	1.6			

5.4.2 Attitudes on the status dimension

While the respondents from all mother tongue groups rated both English and French favourably on the status dimension, table 5.23 confirms that the respondents from all mother tongue groups apart from the English-French bilinguals in fact considered English to be better suited to modern society than French (means for English between 1.2 and 1.5; means for French between 2.2 and 2.5; $p < 0.001$). Moreover, the francophones and the allophones deemed knowledge of English more likely to increase their opportunities to find employment than knowledge of French (francophones' means for English and French = 1.1 and 1.8 respectively, $p < 0.001$; allophones' means = 1.3 and 1.6 respectively, $p < 0.05$). The allophones also judged English to be more important in order to get far in life (means for English and French = 1.1 and 2.5 respectively; $p < 0.01$).

Table 5.23: Independent samples t-test of the different mother tongue groups' evaluations of English and French on the status dimension. Item number, language evaluated, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	Language evaluated	L1	N	Mean	t	df	sig.
19/28: ... is a language that is well suited to modern society	English	English	47	1.2	- 6.155	63	0.000
	French		47	2.2			
	English	French	56	1.5	- 4.664	110	0.000
	French		56	2.3			
	English	English & French	13	1.5	- 1.503	24	0.146
	French		13	2.1			
	English	Other	48	1.5	- 5.465	82	0.000
	French		48	2.5			
21/30: Knowing ... will increase my opportunities to find employment	English	English	47	1.6	+1.281	92	0.203
	French		47	1.4			
	English	French	56	1.1	- 4.688	62	0.000
	French		56	1.8			
	English	English & French	13	1.4	- 0.508	24	0.616
	French		13	1.5			
	English	Other	48	1.3	- 2.210	85	0.030
	French		48	1.6			
24/33: ... is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life	English	English	46	1.8	- 0.447	91	0.656
	French		47	1.9			
	English	French	56	2.0	- 1.752	110	0.083
	French		56	2.4			
	English	English & French	13	2.2	- 0.441	24	0.663
	French		13	2.4			
	English	Other	48	1.8	- 3.195	91	0.002
	French		48	2.5			

Similarly, while the respondents from all immigrant status groups also rated both English and French positively on the status dimension, it is evidenced by table 5.24 that there were in fact differences between their evaluations of the two languages. For instance, respondents from all status groups alike considered English to be better suited to modern society than French (means for English between 1.3 and 1.5; means for French between 2.2 and 2.4; $p < 0.001$). Moreover, the non-immigrants and the immigrants judged knowledge of English more likely to increase their opportunities to find employment more than knowledge of French (non-immigrants' means for English and French = 1.2 and 1.5 respectively, $p < 0.05$; immigrants' means = 1.2 and 1.5 respectively, $p < 0.01$). The Quebecers of immigrant descent and the actual immigrants also thought knowledge of English to be more important in order to get far in life than knowledge of French (means of Quebecers of immigrant descent for English and French = 1.9 and 2.3 respectively, $p < 0.05$; immigrants' means = 1.8 and 2.5 respectively, $p < 0.01$).

Table 5.24: Independent samples t-test of the different immigrant status groups' evaluations of English and French on the status dimension. Item number, language evaluated, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	Language evaluated	Immigrant status	N	Mean	t	df	sig.
19/28: ... is a language that is well suited to modern society	English	non-immigrant	59	1.5	- 4.048	116	0.000
	French	immigrant	59	2.2			
	English	immigrant-descent	59	1.3	- 6.058	97	0.000
	French	immigrant-descent	59	2.3			
	English	immigrant	43	1.4	- 5.814	58	0.000
	French	immigrant	43	2.4			
21/30: Knowing ... will increase my opportunities to find employment	English	non-immigrant	59	1.2	- 2.183	104	0.031
	French	immigrant	59	1.5			
	English	immigrant-descent	59	1.5	- 0.972	116	0.333
	French	immigrant-descent	59	1.7			
	English	immigrant	43	1.2	- 2.743	71	0.008
	French	immigrant	43	1.5			
24/33:... is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life	English	non-immigrant	59	1.9	- 0.555	116	0.580
	French	immigrant	59	2.1			
	English	immigrant-descent	58	1.9	- 2.332	115	0.021
	French	immigrant-descent	59	2.3			
	English	immigrant	43	1.8	- 2.680	84	0.009
	French	immigrant	43	2.5			

5.4.3 Attitudes on the solidarity dimension

While the respondents from all mother tongue groups evaluated English and French positively on the solidarity dimension, the anglophones and the francophones unsurprisingly considered their own mother tongue to lend itself better to expressing feelings and emotions than the other language (anglophones' means for English and French = 1.5 and 2.1 respectively, $p < 0.01$; francophones' means = 2.8 and 1.4 respectively, $p < 0.001$; see table 5.25). Also unsurprisingly, the anglophones and the francophones deemed their own mother tongue to be more important to their personal identity than the other language (anglophones' means for English and French = 1.6 and 2.5 respectively; francophones' means = 2.8 and 1.3 respectively; $p < 0.001$). Furthermore, the francophones judged French to be a more significant part of Canadian cultural heritage than English (means for English and French = 2.8 and 1.3 respectively; $p < 0.001$). No significant differences on the solidarity dimension were observed amongst the allophones and the English-French bilinguals.

Table 5.25: Independent samples t-test of the different mother tongue groups' evaluations of English and French on the solidarity dimension. Item number, language evaluated, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	Language evaluated	L1	N	Mean	t	df	sig.
20/29: ... is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions	English	English	47	1.5	- 3.100	92	0.003
	French		47	2.1			
	English	French	56	2.8	+ 7.310	98	0.000
	French		56	1.4			
	English	English	13	1.8	+ 1.091	16	0.291
	French	& French	13	1.4			
	English	Other	48	2.2	+ 1.735	94	0.086
	French		48	1.9			
23/32: Knowing ... is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage	English	English	47	1.8	- 0.978	92	0.331
	French		47	2.0			
	English	French	55	2.6	+ 4.284	102	0.000
	French		55	1.7			
	English	English	13	1.7	+ 0.216	24	0.831
	French	& French	13	1.6			
	English	Other	48	1.7	- 1.395	94	0.166
	French		48	2.0			
25/34: Knowing ... is an important part of my personal identity	English	English	47	1.6	- 4.554	92	0.000
	French		47	2.5			
	English	French	56	2.8	+ 6.469	82	0.000
	French		56	1.3			
	English	English	13	1.8	- 0.315	24	0.756
	French	& French	13	1.9			
	English	Other	48	2.2	- 1.559	94	0.122
	French		48	2.6			

While the respondents from all immigrant status groups also rated both English and French favourably on the solidarity dimension, table 5.26 shows that the non-immigrants and the immigrants in fact considered French to lend itself better to expressing feelings and emotions (non-immigrants' means for English and French = 2.2 and 1.4 respectively, $p < 0.001$; immigrants' means = 2.2 and 1.7 respectively, $p < 0.01$). The non-immigrants also thought that French was a more important part of Canadian cultural heritage than English (means for English and French = 2.3 and 1.6 respectively; $p < 0.001$), and they deemed French to be more important to their personal identity (means for English and French = 2.6 and 1.6 respectively; $p < 0.001$). The Quebecers of immigrant descent, on the other hand, deemed English to be more important to their personal identity (means for English and French = 1.7 and 2.4 respectively; $p < 0.01$).

Table 5.26: Independent samples t-test of the different immigrant status groups' evaluations of English and French on the solidarity dimension. Item number, language evaluated, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	Language evaluated	Immigrant status	N	Mean	t	df	sig.
20/29: ... is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions	English	non-immigrant	59	2.2	+ 4.354	89	0.000
	French	immigrant	59	1.4			
	English	immigrant-descent	59	2.1	+ 0.173	116	0.863
	French	immigrant	59	2.0			
	English	immigrant	43	2.2	+ 2.670	84	0.009
	French	immigrant	43	1.7			
23/32: Knowing ... is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage	English	non-immigrant	58	2.3	+ 3.785	98	0.000
	French	immigrant	58	1.6			
	English	immigrant-descent	59	1.9	- 1.299	116	0.197
	French	immigrant	59	2.1			
	English	immigrant	43	1.8	- 0.227	84	0.821
	French	immigrant	43	1.9			
25/34: Knowing ... is an important part of my personal identity	English	non-immigrant	59	2.6	+ 4.088	101	0.000
	French	immigrant	59	1.6			
	English	immigrant-descent	59	1.7	- 3.003	116	0.003
	French	immigrant	59	2.4			
	English	immigrant	43	2.3	- 0.555	84	0.580
	French	immigrant	43	2.5			

5.4.4 Summary

When considering each mother tongue group separately, it thus seems that the anglophones deemed their mother tongue to be more beautiful than French, but considered French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. However, they evaluated their own mother tongue more favourably on one aspect of the status dimension and two aspects of the solidarity dimension. The francophones considered French to be more beautiful, more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. They also rated their mother tongue more positively on all aspects of the solidarity dimension; however, they evaluated English more positively on two aspects of the status dimension. The English-French bilinguals judged French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. With regard to the status and solidarity dimensions, they rated the two languages equally favourably. The allophones, too, judged French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. However, while they also rated English and French equally positively on the solidarity dimension, they evaluated English more favourably with regard to all aspects of the status dimension.

The participants' mother tongue thus appears to have played a significant role in the determination of their evaluations, and the findings can be summarised as follows:

first, the respondents from all mother tongue groups considered French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. (The francophones also deemed French to be more beautiful than English, while the anglophones judged their own mother tongue more favourably in this respect.) The results of the open-ended items suggest that French is associated with beauty, elegance and richness more than English. Second, all respondents except the English-French bilinguals evaluated English more favourably on the status dimension than French. (The allophones' evaluations of English on the status dimension were even more favourable than those of the francophones and the anglophones.) Finally, on the solidarity dimension, the anglophones and the francophones rated their own mother tongue more favourably while the allophones and the English-French bilinguals evaluated both languages equally favourably.

When considering each immigrant status group separately, it appears that the non-immigrants considered French to be more beautiful, more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. They also evaluated French more favourably regarding all aspects of the solidarity dimension, but they rated English more positively in terms of two aspects of the status dimension. The Quebecers of immigrant descent also considered French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. However, they rated English more positively on one aspect of the solidarity dimension and on two aspects of the status dimension. Like the other two immigrant status groups, the actual immigrants to Quebec judged French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. Furthermore, they evaluated French more positively on one aspect of the solidarity dimension. Yet they, too, rated English more favourably with regard to all aspects of the status dimension.

Like their mother tongue, the participants' immigrant status thus also appears to have played a role in the determination of their evaluations, and two trends become apparent. First, all immigrant status groups deemed French to be more elegant and at least equally rich, if not richer, than English. (The non-immigrants also considered French to be more beautiful than English.) Again, the results of the open-ended items indicate that French is associated with beauty, elegance and richness more than English. Second, all immigrant status groups ranked English higher in terms of the status dimension, with the immigrants to Quebec ranking English even more favourably in this respect than the non-immigrants and the Quebecers of immigrant

descent. The ratings of the languages on the solidarity dimension were less uniform: the immigrants and non-immigrants evaluated French more favourably in this respect, and the Quebecers of immigrant descent displayed a preference for English. Apart from one exception, it is possible to explain all of these tendencies in terms of the mother tongue composition of the different immigrant status groups: the majority of the non-immigrants were francophones (62.7%) and the non-immigrants shared the attitudinal tendencies displayed by the francophones; the majority of the Quebecers of immigrant descent were anglophones (47.5%) and the Quebecers of immigrant descent had the same attitudinal tendencies as the anglophones; and the majority of the immigrants were allophones (74.4%) and the immigrants shared most of the attitudinal tendencies of the allophones (see above). The immigrants' slightly more positive attitudes towards French on the solidarity dimension constitute the only exception since they cannot be explained in terms of mother tongue composition: the majority of immigrants were allophones, and the allophones as a group displayed equally favourable attitudes towards English and French on the solidarity dimension rather than a preference for French (see above).

Overall, the respondents of the different mother tongue and immigrant status groups thus displayed what can be interpreted as more positive attitudes towards French than English in terms of general attributes such as beauty, elegance and richness, with the francophones' attitudes towards French being even more positive than those of the other mother tongue groups. In terms of the solidarity dimension, attitudes towards the two languages were more diverse, with the anglophones (and, perhaps as a consequence of this, the Quebecers of immigrant descent) holding more positive attitudes towards English, and the francophones (and, perhaps as a consequence of this, the non-immigrants) and the immigrants holding more positive attitudes towards French. Regarding the status dimension, however, the results suggest that the respondents from all groups uniformly held more positive attitudes towards English than towards French, with this preference for English surfacing particularly strongly among the allophones (and, perhaps as a result of this, the immigrants to Quebec).

A further factor that suggests that the respondents attributed more status to English than to French relates to the type of CEGEP they had chosen. As explained in section 1.3.4, Bill 101 grants Quebecers the right to choose between French- and English-speaking institutions once they have reached the level of post-secondary education. In

the present study, 97.9% of anglophones, 84.6% of English-French bilinguals, 95.8% of allophones and even 16.1% of francophones chose to attend an English-speaking CEGEP. In the case of the anglophones and allophones, the numbers were significantly higher than expected statistically ($p < 0.001$; see section 5.1.4). Moreover, significantly more immigrants and Quebecers of immigrant descent than would have been expected statistically (86% and 84.7% respectively) as well as a considerable number of non-immigrants (39%) chose to attend an English-speaking CEGEP ($p < 0.001$; see section 5.1.8). Since the language a person decides upon for their education is likely to be one that they associate with economic opportunity and upward social mobility, these figures thus lend further support to the notion that the young Quebecers of all mother tongues and immigrant statuses who took part in this study attributed significant status to the English language.

5.5 Attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French

The data presented in this section pertains to Quebecers' attitudes towards QF versus EF in general (5.5.1) as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions in particular (5.5.2 and 5.5.3 respectively). In addition to presenting the pertinent findings, this section also investigates whether correlations exist between the number of months those respondents who are immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and their attitudes towards QF versus EF, as well as between the respondents' own variety of French and their attitudes towards QF versus EF (5.5.4).

5.5.1 Attitudes in general

General information regarding attitudes towards QF as compared to EF was elicited by items 36, 40, 44 and 45. As evidenced by table 5.27, the respondents of the various mother tongue groups did not evaluate QF more positively than EF. They did not view QF as more beautiful than EF; however, a Duncan PostHoc test revealed that the francophones (mean = 3.3) were the least negative in their evaluations of QF in this respect (means of the other mother tongue groups between 3.9 and 4.3). The respondents from all mother tongue groups also agreed that QF is neither richer (means between 3.8 and 4.5) nor more elegant than EF (means between 4.0 and 4.5; while initial analysis would seem to indicate a significant effect of the variables mother tongue and immigrant status regarding item 44, further scrutiny by means of PostHoc tests revealed that all mother tongue groups and all immigrant status groups in fact form a homogeneous subset). It needs to be borne in mind that regrettably, due

to the comparative nature of items 36, 40 and 44, it is not possible to ascertain from the present data whether the respondents simply evaluated QF and EF equally positively in terms of beauty, richness and elegance or whether they in fact rated EF more favourably. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that respondents of all mother tongue groups considered it relatively important to keep QF as similar to EF as possible (means between 2.8 and 3.3; N.B. item 45 is the only one where the lower the mean, the *less* positive the evaluation of QF). Overall, these findings suggest that the respondents' attitudes towards QF in general were by no means more positive than their attitudes towards EF. The respondents' immigrant status did not have an effect on any of their evaluations.

Table 5.27: Evaluations of QF versus EF in general. Item number, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
36: Quebec French is more beautiful than European French	English	45	4.3	3.147	3 - 138	0.027
	French	55	3.3			
	English & French	13	3.9			
	Other	48	4.2			
40: Quebec French is richer than European French	English	45	4.4	2.316	3 - 138	0.078
	French	55	3.8			
	English & French	13	4.5			
	Other	48	4.2			
44: Quebec French is more elegant than European French	English	45	4.5	2.878	3 - 138	0.038
	French	55	4.0			
	English & French	13	4.5			
	Other	48	4.5			
45: It is important to keep Quebec French as similar to European French as possible *	English	45	2.9	0.599	3 - 138	0.617
	French	55	2.8			
	English & French	13	3.3			
	Other	48	3.0			

* the only variable where the lower the mean, the *less* positive the evaluation of QF

To a certain extent, general information regarding attitudes towards QF was also elicited by item 46, which asked respondents to draw up a list of the five words they thought most suitable to describe QF (see appendix I for a list of the words used to describe QF). The findings obtained by means of this item could be seen to suggest that the respondents of this study, regardless of their background, in fact held rather negative attitudes towards QF. The majority of the words that the anglophones, the English-French bilinguals, as well as the allophones had chosen in order to describe QF – and even a relatively large number of the words chosen by the francophones – were negative (64.0%, 52.3%, 66.2% and 23.2% respectively). Many of these words, such as '*patois*', '*joual*', '*Fran/glais*', '*slang*', '*accented*' and '*anglicised*', implied that the respondents considered QF as non-standard and impure. Other frequently used words included '*farmer*', '*hick*', '*hillbilly*', '*dumb*' and '*ignorant*' – that is, words that

either imply or clearly state the lack of education associated with QF. A number of respondents simply wrote down swearwords.³² Furthermore, many chose terms such as ‘useless’, ‘rude’, ‘rough’, ‘vulgar’, ‘deformed’, ‘dirty’, ‘debased’ and ‘disgusting’. The number of those words that were clearly favourable, yet could not unequivocally be categorised as indicating attitudes on either the status or the solidarity dimension, was rather small: 17.7% for the anglophones, 33.3% for the francophones, 22.7% for the English-French bilinguals, and 21.0% for the allophones. Examples of these words were ‘entertaining’, ‘expressive’, ‘easy’, ‘smooth’, ‘laid-back’, ‘joyful’, ‘genuine’ and ‘sincere’.

Another insight into young Quebecers’ views of QF is provided by some of the comments made by the respondents in the margins of their survey forms. When rating their variety of French on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning QF and 5 meaning EF, one respondent who had circled 4 commented ‘I try, anyway’. Another respondent, who had circled 2, added ‘only because I went to a French school all my life. I enjoy French, just not Quebec French’. A further respondent, who had circled 3, remarked ‘*mais j’aimerais [sic.] + l’eupéen, mais malheureusement je vis au Qc, c’est une habitude*’ – ‘I would like to speak in a more European manner but unfortunately I live in Quebec, it’s a habit’. Finally, a respondent who had circled 4 commented ‘though I don’t speak very well French, I try to learn European French’ [sic.]. These comments also suggest rather negative attitudes towards QF.

5.5.2 Attitudes on the status dimension

The results presented in table 5.28 seem to indicate that on the status dimension, too, the young Quebecers who took part in this study did not hold more positive attitudes towards QF than towards EF. (Attitudes towards QF on the status dimension were measured by means of items 37, 39 and 42.) None of the mother tongue groups regarded QF to be better suited to modern society than EF (means between 3.2 and 3.9). Neither did they think that speaking QF rather than EF was likely to increase their opportunities to find employment, with a Duncan PostHoc test revealing that the allophones evaluated QF even less positively in this respect than the anglophones

³² Again, it should be borne in mind that the categorisation of the words used to describe the languages/varieties was based on the researcher’s subjective perception of matters. There is thus a possibility that the swearwords used to describe QF are not, in fact, indicative of negative attitudes towards this variety but that they were simply intended to highlight that QF can be distinguished from EF by its swearwords. Nevertheless, even if the swearwords are not counted, the negative number of words used by each mother tongue group in order to describe QF was comparatively large.

(means = 3.9 and 3.0 respectively; $p < 0.05$). Furthermore, respondents from all mother tongue groups alike judged QF speakers to be unlikely to get farther in life than EF speakers (means between 3.8 and 4.2). The respondents' immigrant status did not affect their evaluations of QF on the status dimension. Again, it needs to be borne in mind that due to the comparative nature of items 37, 39 and 42, it is not possible to ascertain from the present data whether the respondents simply evaluated QF and EF equally favourably on the status dimension or whether their ratings of EF were in fact more positive.

Table 5.28: Evaluations of QF versus EF on the status dimension. Item number, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
37: Quebec French is better suited to modern society than European French	English	45	3.5	1.497	3 - 138	0.218
	French	55	3.2			
	English & French	13	3.3			
	Other	48	3.9			
39: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) will increase my opportunities to find employment	English	45	3.0	2.914	3 - 138	0.037
	French	55	3.5			
	English & French	13	3.5			
	Other	48	3.9			
42: Quebec French speakers are likely to get farther in life than European French speakers	English	45	3.8	0.437	3 - 138	0.727
	French	55	4.2			
	English & French	13	3.8			
	Other	48	4.1			

The findings obtained by means of the open-ended item 46 could be seen to suggest that QF was in fact evaluated unfavourably on the status dimension. Only 3.4% of the words chosen by the anglophones, 3.1 % of those chosen by the francophones, 6.8% of those chosen by the English-French bilinguals, and 0.6% of the words selected by the allophones in order to describe QF could unequivocally be classified as indicating positive attitudes on the status dimension. Examples of these few words include 'useful', 'practical' and 'necessary'.

5.5.3 Attitudes on the solidarity dimension

The evaluations that the young Quebecers who took part in this study made of QF on the solidarity dimension (as measured by items 38, 41 and 43) were found to be rather more diverse (see table 5.29). On the one hand, they did not regard QF to lend itself better to expressing feelings and emotions than EF (means between 3.0 and 3.8). On the other hand, the respondents from all mother tongue groups unanimously judged QF (rather than EF) to be a significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage (means between 1.6 and 2.3). As evidenced by a Duncan PostHoc test, there were discrepancies among

the respondents of different backgrounds when it came to deciding which of the varieties was important for their personal identity: the francophones agreed that speaking QF rather than EF was important for their sense of personal identity (mean = 2.3) while the remaining mother tongue groups did not consider this to be the case (means between 3.3 and 3.8; $p < 0.05$). Again, it needs to be borne in mind that due to the comparative nature of the items, it is not possible to ascertain from the present data whether the respondents simply evaluated QF and EF equally favourably or whether their ratings of EF were in fact more positive. Overall, these results suggest that the respondents from the different mother tongue groups held more positive attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension than on the status dimension and in general, and that the attitudes amongst the francophones were even more positive than those of the others. The respondents' immigrant status did not influence their evaluations.

Table 5.29: Evaluations of QF versus EF on the solidarity dimension. Item number, mother tongue groups (L1), absolute numbers (N), means, F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, 5 = don't agree at all.

Item	L1	N	Mean	F	df	sig.
38: Quebec French lends itself to expressing feelings and emotions more readily than European French does	English	45	3.8	0.903	3 - 137	0.442
	French	54	3.0			
	English & French	13	3.3			
	Other	48	3.5			
41: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is a significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage	English	45	2.0	1.637	3 - 138	0.184
	French	55	1.6			
	English & French	13	1.8			
	Other	48	2.3			
43: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is important for my sense of personal identity	English	45	3.3	3.303	3 - 138	0.022
	French	55	2.3			
	English & French	13	3.3			
	Other	48	3.8			

The results obtained by means of item 46 corroborate the findings procured with the more direct means of measurement, that is, the notion that the francophones held more positive attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension than the other mother tongue groups. The findings also suggest that the allophones' attitudes were rather more negative than those of the other mother tongue groups: item 46 revealed that 5.7% of the words chosen by the anglophones, 4.5% of those chosen by the English-French bilinguals, 1.3% of those chosen by the allophones, as well as a sizeable 17.1% of the words selected by the francophones in order to describe QF could unequivocally be classified as indicating positive attitudes on the solidarity dimension. Many of these words pertained to Quebec's as well as Canada's history and cultural heritage; others concerned feelings and emotions or made reference to communication with friends.

The francophones and the English-French bilinguals also selected words connected to their family as well as their own identity.³³

5.5.4 Correlations and summary

As evidenced by table 5.30, there appears to be a statistically significant negative correlation between the amount of time that those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province on the one hand, and their evaluations of QF on the other hand. This applies to the general level as well as to the status and solidarity dimensions. The less time they had spent in the province, the less beautiful, rich and elegant the immigrants judged QF to be ($r = -0.351$, -0.324 and -0.334 respectively; $p < 0.05$). Furthermore, the less time they had spent in Quebec, the less well suited to modern society they considered QF to be and the less they deemed it to lend itself to expressing feelings and emotions ($r = -0.466$ and -0.459 respectively; $p < 0.01$).

Table 5.30: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between number of months spent in Quebec and evaluations of QF versus EF among immigrants. Dimension, item number, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Item	N	r	sig.
general	36: Quebec French is more beautiful than European French	45	- 0.351	0.018
	40: Quebec French is richer than European French	45	- 0.324	0.030
	44: Quebec French is more elegant than European French	45	- 0.334	0.025
	45: It is important to keep Quebec French as similar to European French as possible	45	+ 0.185	0.223
status	37: Quebec French is better suited to modern society than European French	45	- 0.466	0.001
	39: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) will increase my opportunities to find employment	45	- 0.184	0.227
	42: Quebec French speakers are likely to get farther in life than European French speakers	45	- 0.012	0.936
solidarity	38: Quebec French lends itself to expressing feelings and emotions more readily than European French does	45	- 0.459	0.002
	41: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is a significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage	45	+ 0.146	0.337
	43: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is important for my sense of personal identity	45	- 0.279	0.064

As seen in table 5.31, there was also a statistically significant positive correlation between the variety of French spoken by the respondents on the one hand, and their evaluations of QF in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions on the other hand. The more *québécois* the respondents judged their own variety of French to be, the more beautiful ($r = +0.299$; $p < 0.001$), rich ($r = +0.175$; $p < 0.05$) and elegant ($r = +0.211$; $p < 0.001$) they deemed QF to be, and the less important they considered it to

³³ Again, a certain number of words employed by the respondents from all mother tongue groups in order to describe the English language were neither clearly positive or negative, nor did they unequivocally pertain to the status or the solidarity dimension. Examples include words such as 'fast', 'new', 'winter', 'referendum' and 'city', as well as celebrity names (e.g. that of singer and actress Caroline Neron) and comments such as '*Moi j'aime ça les filles*' – 'I like girls'.

keep QF as similar to EF as possible ($r = -0.199$; $p < 0.05$). With respect to the status dimension, it can be seen that the more the respondents felt they spoke QF, the better suited they deemed this variety to be to modern society ($r = +0.390$; $p < 0.001$) and the more they thought that speaking QF rather than EF would increase their opportunities to find employment ($r = +0.230$; $p < 0.01$). Furthermore, with regard to the solidarity dimension, the respondents who claimed to speak a more *québécois* variety of French deemed QF to lend itself more readily to expressing feelings and emotions ($r = +0.284$; $p < 0.001$). They also judged speaking QF rather than EF to be a more significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage ($r = +0.208$; $p < 0.01$) and considered it more important for their sense of personal identity ($r = +0.361$; $p < 0.001$).

Table 5.31: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between variety of French spoken and evaluations of QF versus EF. Dimension, item number, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Item	N	r	sig.
general	36: Quebec French is more beautiful than European French	161	+ 0.299	0.000
	40: Quebec French is richer than European French	161	+ 0.175	0.027
	44: Quebec French is more elegant than European French	161	+ 0.211	0.007
	45: It is important to keep Quebec French as similar to European French as possible	161	- 0.199	0.011
status	37: Quebec French is better suited to modern society than European French	161	+ 0.390	0.000
	39: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) will increase my opportunities to find employment	161	+ 0.230	0.003
	42: Quebec French speakers are likely to get farther in life than European French speakers	161	+ 0.146	0.064
solidarity	38: Quebec French lends itself to expressing feelings and emotions more readily than European French does	160	+ 0.284	0.000
	41: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is a significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage	161	+ 0.208	0.008
	43: Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is important for my sense of personal identity	161	+ 0.361	0.000

It should be noted that the manner in which the respondents rated their own variety of French is, at least to a certain extent, also indicative of what they considered to be the standard norm – for as explained in section 2.3.2, survey results such as these are frequently influenced by what is deemed to be socially desirable. As mentioned above (see 5.1.9), the pattern among the anglophones, francophones and the English-French bilinguals was that the majority claimed to speak QF or a variety of French close to it (59.1%, 69.6% and 76.9% respectively), followed by those who claimed to speak a variety that is in between QF and EF (27.3%, 23.2% and 23.1% respectively). Only a minority among the anglophones and francophones (13.6% and 7.1% respectively) and none of the English-French bilinguals reported to speak EF or a variety of French close to it. The exception to this pattern, albeit not statistically significant, were the allophones: while the majority among them also reported to speak QF or a variety of

French close to it (54.2%), this was followed by those who considered themselves to speak EF or a variety of French close to it (25.%) and only the minority of allophones claimed to speak a variety of French in between QF and EF (20.8%). The self-evaluations concerning their own variety of French thus suggest that particularly negative attitudes towards QF prevailed among the allophones (see 5.1.8).

Overall, the results of the questionnaire seem to suggest that the respondents' attitudes towards QF in general and on the status dimension were by no means more positive than their attitudes towards EF. Regrettably, it cannot be ascertained by means of the data obtained with the closed questions whether the respondents' attitudes towards the two varieties were equally favourable or whether they did in fact have more positive attitudes towards EF in general and on the status dimension. The data obtained by means of the more open-ended question as well as the comments made by a number of respondents in the margins of their survey forms suggest that the latter is the case. Regarding the general attributes, the francophones were found to hold more positive attitudes towards QF than the other mother tongue groups, while the allophones appeared to hold even more negative attitudes towards QF than the other mother tongue groups on the status dimension. The results of the closed questions indicate that attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension were more positive than those on the status dimension and in general, and it appeared that the attitudes amongst the francophones were even more positive than those of the other mother tongue groups. This, too, is supported by the results of the more open-ended question. The respondents' immigrant status did not have a significant effect on their evaluations of QF versus EF on any of the dimensions. Yet the results obtained by means of the correlations suggest that the more time newcomers to Quebec had spent in the province, the less negative their attitudes were towards QF in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions. Furthermore, it appears that the more *québécois* the respondents judged their own variety of French to be, the less negative their attitudes were towards QF in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimension.

6. Results of the matched-guise experiment

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the matched-guise experiment that was conducted in the autumn of 2007 amongst the same 164 young Quebecers who had filled in the survey questionnaire (see chapter 5). As explained in section 4.3.4, on the final page of the evaluation sheets used in the experiment, the subjects were asked for their opinion regarding the purpose of the study, and whether they thought that there was anything unusual about the voices they had heard. The purpose of these questions was to enable the researcher to ascertain whether any of the subjects had guessed the actual aim of the research project. 4 of the participants did indeed guess the real objective as well as realising that the same speakers were reading the text in different guises. Since the participants' ignorance with regard to the methodology is a precondition to the elicitation of valid results by means of matched-guise experiments (see 3.3.3), these respondents were removed from the study and the results presented in this chapter are merely the ones obtained from the remaining 160 respondents. Table 6.1 shows the numbers and percentages of participants from each mother tongue group.

Table 6.1: Frequencies of mother tongue (L1) groups in matched-guise experiment. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

L1	N	%
English	44	27.5
French	55	34.4
English and French	13	8.1
Other	48	30.0
Total	160	100

The numbers and percentages of participants from each immigrant status group are shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Frequency of immigrant status groups in matched-guise experiment. Observed numbers (N) and percentages (%).

Immigrant status	N	%
Non-immigrant	58	36.9
Immigrant descent	57	36.3
Immigrant	42	26.8
Total	157	100
missing cases = 3		

As mentioned in section 4.4.3, repeated measures ANOVAs were performed on the data obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment, using mother tongue and immigrant status as the between-subject variables, and the different guises – that is, English, Quebec French (QF) and European French (EF) – as the within-subject variable. Initially, repeated measures ANOVAs were run for each speaker separately in

order to find out whether there was any variation in the evaluation of the three speakers. The findings showed that the evaluative trends for speaker 3 were in fact rather different to those for speakers 1 and 2: there was no consistency in the manner he was evaluated on either the status or the solidarity dimension. The evaluative trends for speakers 1 and 2, however, were very similar. Consequently, the ratings of speakers 1 and 2 were combined and new repeated measures ANOVAs were performed on the re-coded data. The results presented in this chapter are the ones obtained by means of these new repeated measures ANOVAs. The evaluations made of speaker 3 in his different guises were excluded from the analysis (see appendix J for the results of the repeated measures ANOVAs that were initially performed on the data obtained from this speaker). The different evaluative pattern for speaker 3 was attributed to his idiosyncratic manner of speaking. This assumption is supported by the findings of Fuga (2002), who had used the same recordings in her matched-guise experiment and also found that her respondents' ratings of speaker 3 were consistently different from those of the other two speakers.³⁴

The structure of this chapter is as follows: first, section 6.1 presents the respondents' evaluations of English, QF and EF on the status dimension. Subsequently, section 6.2 presents the respondents' ratings of these same languages/varieties on the solidarity dimension. The final section, 6.3, investigates whether a correlation exists between the number of months those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province on the one hand, and their evaluations on the other hand. This section also ascertains whether there is a correlation between the respondents' own variety of French and their ratings of QF in particular. It should be noted that this chapter merely constitutes the presentation of the results obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment; an analysis of these findings in the context of the present social and linguistic situation in Quebec is offered in chapter 7.

6.1 Attitudes towards English, Quebec French and European French on the status dimension

Table 6.3 shows the respondents' evaluations of the speakers in their different guises on the status dimension. Neither the respondents' mother tongue nor their immigrant status had a significant effect on their ratings of the guises. The following trend

³⁴ Genesee and Holobow (1989), who were the first to use these recordings, do not discuss speaker differences in the analysis of their results. Consequently, it is unknown whether or not they, too, found that speaker 3 was rated differently from the other two speakers.

becomes apparent from the findings: irrespective of their background, in the vast majority of cases, the respondents evaluated the English guises most favourably, the EF guises second most favourably, and the QF guises least favourably on the status traits. This trend is mirrored clearly in the overall means for the different guises, the only exception being the overall means for the trait ‘leadership’, where the QF guises were rated higher than the EF guises. The findings show that the effect of the within-subject variable guise was statistically significant for the evaluation of all five status traits ($p < 0.001$, except for ‘ambition’, where the effect was significant at $p < 0.01$).

Table 6.3: Evaluations of speakers in different guises in terms of status traits. Mother tongue (L1), absolute numbers (N), means for guises (English, QF and EF), F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 0 = not at all, 16 = very.

trait	L1	N	Mean / English	Mean / QF	Mean / EF	F	df	sig.
intelligence	English	41	10.7	8.2	8.7	23.381	2 - 286	0.000
	French	53	10.8	7.6	9.4			
	English & French	13	10.1	7.6	8.9			
	Other	48	10.9	7.6	8.9			
	Total	155	10.8	7.8	9.0			
dependability	English	38	10.5	7.8	7.8	23.852	2 - 266	0.000
	French	48	10.7	7.9	9.1			
	English & French	12	10.6	7.8	9.0			
	Other	47	9.8	7.7	7.9			
	Total	145	10.3	7.8	8.4			
education	English	42	10.8	8.3	9.0	15.448	2 - 288	0.000
	French	54	10.9	7.7	9.7			
	English & French	13	9.8	7.9	9.3			
	Other	47	10.7	8.7	9.4			
	Total	156	10.7	8.1	9.4			
ambition	English	42	8.9	7.5	6.8	6.532	2 - 286	0.002
	French	53	8.7	6.7	8.5			
	English & French	12	7.7	6.9	7.8			
	Other	48	8.5	6.9	7.5			
	Total	155	8.6	7.0	7.7			
leadership	English	42	10.1	7.7	6.4	13.757	2 - 272	0.000
	French	49	9.6	6.5	6.1			
	English & French	11	7.3	6.4	7.0			
	Other	46	9.8	7.0	7.1			
	Total	148	9.6	7.0	6.6			

In order to ascertain which of the differences between the three guises were statistically significant, a series of paired samples t-tests was performed, comparing each guise with the other two – that is, English with QF, English with EF, and QF with EF. The results of these tests revealed that the English guises were evaluated significantly more favourably than both the QF and the EF ones with regard to all five status traits ($p < 0.001$). The EF guises were rated significantly more positively than the QF ones in terms of ‘intelligence’ and ‘education’ ($p < 0.001$). However, regarding the traits ‘dependability’, ‘ambition’ and ‘leadership’ (the latter being the only trait on which QF had been evaluated more favourably than EF on the status dimension),

difference between the EF and QF guises was not found to be statistically significant (see table 6.4).³⁵

Table 6.4: Paired samples t-tests of the evaluations of the guises (English, QF and EF) on the status dimension. Absolute numbers (N), mean (total, i.e. for all mother tongue groups), t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 0 = not at all, 16 = very.

Trait	Guise	N	Mean (total)	t	df	sig.
intelligence	English	159	10.8	+ 12.321	158	0.000
	Quebec French	159	7.8			
	English	159	10.8	+ 6.974	158	0.000
	European French	159	9.0			
	Quebec French	158	7.8	- 3.961	157	0.000
	European French	158	9.0			
dependability	English	152	10.3	+ 9.342	151	0.000
	Quebec French	152	7.8			
	English	151	10.3	+ 7.455	150	0.000
	European French	151	8.4			
	Quebec French	152	7.8	- 1.965	151	0.051
	European French	152	8.4			
education	English	159	10.7	+ 10.100	158	0.000
	Quebec French	159	8.1			
	English	160	10.7	+ 5.097	159	0.000
	European French	160	9.4			
	Quebec French	159	8.1	- 4.019	158	0.000
	European French	159	9.4			
ambition	English	159	8.6	+ 8.898	158	0.000
	Quebec French	159	7.0			
	English	158	8.6	+ 3.653	157	0.000
	European French	158	7.7			
	Quebec French	158	7.0	- 2.254	157	0.026
	European French	158	7.7			
leadership	English	153	9.6	+ 9.399	152	0.000
	Quebec French	153	7.0			
	English	156	9.6	+ 10.503	155	0.000
	European French	156	6.6			
	Quebec French	151	7.0	+ 1.779	150	0.077
	European French	151	6.6			

³⁵ As explained in section 4.4.3, the use of paired samples t-tests was decided upon because SPSS does not provide a straightforward method of performing multiple comparisons of within-subject effects since the latter are very prone to violations of test assumptions. One of the consequences of the method chosen here is that the Bonferroni correction needs to be applied, which means that the significance level needs to be adjusted by dividing it by the number of pairwise comparisons that are performed – in this case, three: English with QF, English with EF, and QF with EF. The appropriate significance level here is thus $p < 0.0167$ (that is, $0.05 \div 3 = 0.0167$). Consequently, the difference between QF and EF regarding ‘ambition’ (0.026) is, in this context, not statistically significant (see Howell 2009).

6.2 Attitudes towards English, Quebec French and European French on the solidarity dimension

The respondents' evaluations of the speakers in their different guises on the solidarity dimension are shown in table 6.5. As on the status dimension, neither the respondents' mother tongue nor their immigrant status had a significant effect on their ratings of the guises. The pattern that becomes apparent from the findings is that, irrespective of their background, the respondents evaluated the English guises most favourably, the QF guises second most favourably, and the EF guises least favourably on the solidarity dimension. Again, this pattern is mirrored clearly in the overall means for the different guises, and the results show that the effect of the within-subject variable guise was highly significant for the evaluation of all five solidarity traits ($p < 0.001$).

Table 6.5: Evaluations of speakers in different guises in terms of solidarity traits. Mother tongue (L1), absolute numbers (N), means for guises (English, QF and EF), F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 0 = not at all, 16 = very.

trait	L1	N	Mean / English	Mean / QF	Mean / EF	F	df	sig.
kindness	English	42	10.8	8.7	7.6	11.253	2 - 288	0.000
	French	53	9.9	9.3	9.3			
	English & French	13	10.1	8.6	8.5			
	Other	48	10.4	8.5	8.2			
	Total	156	10.3	8.8	8.4			
humour	English	42	9.1	6.4	5.6	16.986	2 - 290	0.000
	French	54	8.2	7.3	6.1			
	English & French	13	7.8	7.2	5.8			
	Other	48	8.8	6.3	5.9			
	Total	157	8.6	6.8	5.9			
warmth	English	42	10.9	7.1	6.4	24.125	2 - 284	0.000
	French	54	9.1	8.0	6.8			
	English & French	12	9.0	7.4	6.3			
	Other	46	9.8	7.5	7.1			
	Total	154	9.8	7.6	6.7			
likeability	English	42	11.1	8.3	7.5	22.117	2 - 282	0.000
	French	52	10.2	9.3	7.7			
	English & French	13	10.2	9.1	8.1			
	Other	46	10.5	8.0	7.7			
	Total	153	10.5	8.6	7.7			
sociability	English	42	10.8	8.4	6.6	28.117	2 - 284	0.000
	French	53	10.2	8.8	7.3			
	English & French	12	9.9	8.9	7.1			
	Other	47	10.8	8.1	7.4			
	Total	154	10.5	8.5	7.1			

Again, paired samples t-tests were performed, comparing each guise with the other two, in order to ascertain which of the differences between the three guises were significant. The findings revealed that the English guises were evaluated significantly more favourably than both the QF and the EF ones with regard to all five solidarity traits ($p < 0.001$). The QF guises were rated significantly more positively than the EF ones in terms of the traits 'humour', 'warmth', 'likeability' and 'sociability' ($p < 0.001$ for all comparisons except QF/EF regarding 'humour' and 'warmth', where the effect

was significant at $p < 0.01$). While the QF guises were also evaluated more positively than the EF ones in terms of ‘kindness’, in this respect, the difference between the guises in the two varieties was not found to be statistically significant (see table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Paired samples t-tests of the evaluations of the guises (English, QF and EF) on the solidarity dimension. Absolute numbers (N), mean (total, i.e. for all mother tongue groups), t-value (t), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 0 = not at all, 16 = very.

Trait	Guise	N	Mean (total)	t	df	sig.
kindness	English	160	10.3	+ 6.297	159	0.000
	Quebec French	160	8.8			
	English	159	10.3	+ 6.675	158	0.000
	European French	159	8.4			
	Quebec French	159	8.8	+ 1.729	158	0.086
	European French	159	8.4			
humour	English	160	8.6	+ 6.403	159	0.000
	Quebec French	160	6.8			
	English	160	8.6	+ 8.490	159	0.000
	European French	160	5.9			
	Quebec French	160	6.8	+ 3.066	159	0.003
	European French	160	5.9			
warmth	English	158	9.8	+ 6.989	157	0.000
	Quebec French	158	7.6			
	English	158	9.8	+ 9.192	157	0.000
	European French	158	6.7			
	Quebec French	158	7.6	+ 3.256	157	0.001
	European French	158	6.7			
likeability	English	159	10.5	+ 7.158	158	0.000
	Quebec French	159	8.6			
	English	156	10.5	+ 9.938	155	0.000
	European French	156	7.7			
	Quebec French	157	8.6	+ 3.831	156	0.000
	European French	157	7.7			
sociability	English	157	10.5	+ 6.937	156	0.000
	Quebec French	157	8.5			
	English	158	10.5	+ 11.115	157	0.000
	European French	158	7.1			
	Quebec French	159	8.5	+ 5.039	158	0.000
	European French	159	7.1			

6.3 Correlations and summary

As evidenced by table 6.7, there was no statistically significant correlation between the amount of time that those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province on the one hand, and their evaluations of the speakers in their English guises on the other hand.

Table 6.7: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between number of months spent in Quebec and evaluations of the English guises among immigrants. Dimension, trait, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Trait	N	r	sig.
status	intelligence	44	- 0.094	0.545
	dependability	44	+ 0.022	0.889
	education	44	+ 0.056	0.719
	ambition	43	+ 0.299	0.140
	leadership	43	- 0.125	0.424
solidarity	kindness	44	+ 0.007	0.964
	humour	44	- 0.017	0.911
	warmth	44	+ 0.096	0.535
	likeability	43	+ 0.042	0.789
	sociability	44	+ 0.063	0.687

No statistically significant correlation was found to exist between the amount of time that the immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and their evaluations of the speakers in their QF guises either (see table 6.8).

Table 6.8: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between number of months spent in Quebec and evaluations of the QF guises among immigrants. Dimension, trait, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Trait	N	r	sig.
status	intelligence	44	+ 0.126	0.416
	dependability	44	- 0.015	0.924
	education	44	+ 0.123	0.426
	ambition	43	- 0.016	0.917
	leadership	40	+ 0.054	0.741
solidarity	kindness	44	+ 0.185	0.228
	humour	44	+ 0.081	0.602
	warmth	44	+ 0.002	0.990
	likeability	44	- 0.043	0.781
	sociability	44	+ 0.073	0.637

Furthermore, as evidenced by table 6.9, no statistically significant correlation was found to exist between the amount of time that the immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province and their evaluations of the speakers in their EF guises.

Table 6.9: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between number of months spent in Quebec and evaluations of the EF guises among immigrants. Dimension, trait, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Trait	N	r	sig.
status	intelligence	44	+ 0.207	0.178
	dependability	42	+ 0.076	0.633
	education	44	+ 0.123	0.426
	ambition	43	+ 0.098	0.533
	leadership	44	+ 0.190	0.216
solidarity	kindness	44	+ 0.089	0.566
	humour	44	- 0.181	0.239
	warmth	43	- 0.063	0.686
	likeability	42	+ 0.284	0.069
	sociability	44	+ 0.002	0.990

A correlation was found to exist between the respondents' own variety of French and their evaluations of the speakers in their QF guises, with the results suggesting that the more *québécois* the respondents of all backgrounds judged their own variety of French

to be, the more positive the evaluations they made of the QF guises. However, it should be noted that this trend was not found to be statistically significant (see table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Correlations (with two-tailed tests of significance) between variety of French spoken and evaluations of the QF guises. Dimension, trait, absolute numbers (N), Pearsons correlation (r) and level of significance (sig.).

Dimension	Trait	N	r	sig.
status	intelligence	156	- 0.127	0.115
	dependability	153	- 0.127	0.117
	education	156	- 0.044	0.590
	ambition	156	- 0.030	0.710
	leadership	151	- 0.036	0.665
solidarity	kindness	157	- 0.074	0.354
	humour	157	- 0.001	0.987
	warmth	156	- 0.042	0.604
	likeability	157	- 0.049	0.544
	sociability	156	+ 0.001	0.994

Overall, the results of the matched-guise experiment thus showed the following: neither the respondents' mother tongue nor their immigrant status had a significant effect on their evaluations of the speakers in their different guises. Regardless of their background, the respondents evaluated the speakers more positively in their English guises than in the QF and EF ones on all ten traits, that is, on both the status and the solidarity dimension. With regard to the status dimension, they also tended to rate the speakers more favourably in their EF guises than in the QF ones, which was statistically significant for two of the five traits. In terms of the solidarity dimension, the QF guises were evaluated more favourably than the EF ones, and this was statistically significant for four of the five traits. The respondents thus demonstrated what could be interpreted as most positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension, followed by EF and then QF; as well as more positive attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension, followed by QF and then EF. No correlation was observed between the number of months those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec had spent in the province on the one hand, and their evaluations of the speakers in their different guises on the other hand. While a correlation seemed to exist between the respondents' own variety of French and their evaluations of the speakers in their QF guises, this trend was not found to be statistically significant.

7. Discussion of results and suggestions for further research

As explained in chapter 1, the objective of the research carried out for this thesis was to investigate the current attitudes that anglophone, francophone and allophone Quebecers of different backgrounds regarding immigration (that is, non-immigrants, Quebecers of immigrant descent as well as actual immigrants) hold towards English, Quebec French (QF) and European French (EF). Based on the findings of previous studies (or the lack thereof), the following central research questions were formulated:

- Do anglophone and francophone Quebecers still have more positive attitudes towards English than towards French (both QF and EF)?
- Do anglophone and francophone Quebecers still have more positive attitudes towards EF than towards QF?
- What attitudes do allophone Quebecers have towards English versus French (both QF and EF)?
- What attitudes do allophone Quebecers have towards QF versus EF?

Moreover, while the main focus was on the attitudes held by the different mother tongue groups, an additional research question was:

- Are there attitudinal differences between non-immigrants, Quebecers of immigrant descent and actual immigrants to Quebec, regardless of their mother tongue?

The previous two chapters presented the outcomes of the language attitudes questionnaire and the matched-guise experiment that were conducted among 164 young Quebecers in the autumn of 2007. The aim of this chapter is to bring together the results obtained by means of the two different methods of attitude elicitation and analyse these in the light of the current social and linguistic situation in Quebec. Sections 7.1 to 7.5 constitute the discussion and analysis of the findings in terms of the afore-mentioned research questions, paying particular attention to attitudes in terms of their two main dimensions, that is, status and solidarity.³⁶ The final section of this

³⁶ As explained in section 5.1.4, the sample size of English-French bilinguals was too small to produce reliable and meaningful results. Consequently, the results pertaining to this group are not discussed in the analysis of the findings. It should also be noted that due to their questionable reliability, the findings of Byers-Heinlein (2002) are not included in this chapter (see e.g. section 3.1.2).

chapter, section 7.6, concludes the thesis by suggesting directions for further research in the area of language attitudes in Quebec as well as in general.

7.1 Anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards English versus French

As explained in section 3.1, the results of language attitudes studies that were conducted in the first years of the 21st century (Fuga 2002; Laur 2008) suggested that anglophone and francophone Quebecers held a preference for English over French on the status dimension, just as they had been found to do in the other language attitudes studies conducted in Quebec since the late 1950s (see e.g. Lambert *et al.* 1960; Genesee and Holobow 1989). Regarding the solidarity dimension, research conducted in the 1980s indicated that Quebec francophones had moved from the outgroup favouritism they had displayed in the late 1950s to ingroup/outgroup neutrality, while Quebec anglophones had shifted from ingroup/outgroup neutrality to ingroup favouritism (Genesee and Holobow 1989). In the first years of the 21st century, the outcome of one investigation indicated that the francophones continued to display ingroup/outgroup neutrality in terms of solidarity (Fuga 2002); the findings of another study, however, were suggestive of more positive attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension among both anglophones and francophones (Laur 2008).

The research conducted for this thesis not only investigated language attitudes on the status and solidarity dimensions but also at a more general level; however, attitudes in general were only elicited by means of the survey questionnaire, not with the matched-guise experiment. As explained in section 5.4.4, the overall findings obtained by means of the closed and open-ended items of the questionnaire suggested more positive attitudes towards French than towards English regarding general attributes such as beauty, richness and elegance. These attitudes appeared to prevail among both the anglophones and francophones of all immigrant status groups, but the francophones' attitudes towards their mother tongue seemed to be particularly positive. It is important to note that these results do not mean that the respondents held negative attitudes towards English in terms of these attributes. Instead, the findings simply suggested that their attitudes towards French were *more* positive than their attitudes towards English.

A possible explanation for this overall pattern is that attributes such as beauty, elegance and richness are very stereotypically associated with the French language. As mentioned in section 1.3.2, from the 18th century onwards, the French ruling elite propagated the myth of French as a classical language blessed with unique virtues such as clarity, purity, richness and elegance. Over time, this myth has become widely accepted, and its endurance is attested by Grimes (2006), Gazette (2009a) and others. It is quite possible that the respondents' positive attitudes towards French regarding such attributes are a reflection of the endurance of this myth. The fact that the francophones appeared to hold even more positive attitudes towards French than the respondents of the other mother tongue groups could be the result of a simple ingroup bias.

Regarding the status dimension, the results of the current study suggest that anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English and French have remained stable: while the survey results indicated that the anglophones and francophones of all immigrant statuses held positive attitudes towards both English and French in terms of status (see 5.2.2 and 5.3.2), a closer inspection of the findings revealed that their attitudes towards English were in fact *more* positive than their attitudes towards French in this respect (see 5.4.2). The results obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment, too, were suggestive of more positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension among both the anglophone and the francophone Quebecers of all immigrant statuses (see 6.1). As noted in section 2.1, behaviour is traditionally considered to be one of the three components that constitute an attitude. Consequently, if one assumes that the language a person decides upon for their education is one that they associate with economic opportunity and upward social mobility, then the notion that the respondents held more positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension was also supported by the respondents' CEGEP enrolment patterns, which indicated a preference for English-medium post-secondary education institutions (see 5.1.8 and 5.4.4).

When interpreted in their historical and social context, these findings are not surprising. As outlined in section 1.3, for a long time, the attraction of English lay in the fact that Montreal anglophones were traditionally a socio-economically advantaged group, which led to English being the language of upward mobility. Since the 1970s, status planning efforts such as Bill 101 have succeeded in increasing the utilitarian

value of French in the province of Quebec by making it the language of the workplace, of education, and so forth. Consequently, Montreal is now no longer dominated – economically or linguistically – by its anglophone minority. However, in the context of globalisation and Quebec's proximity to the world's largest anglophone markets, the francophones' success is fragile: French now faces the challenge of English as the global *lingua franca* of our times, as well as its status as the language of social and economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States. It is therefore unsurprising that English continues to exert a strong power of attraction, and it is possible to interpret the persistence of anglophone and francophone Quebecers' more positive attitudes towards English than towards French on the status dimension as a reflection of this.

The fact that no statistically significant correlation was found to exist between the amount of time that the immigrants of all mother tongue groups had spent in Quebec on the one hand and their evaluations of English on the other hand (see 5.2.4 and 6.1) could also be seen to suggest that the respondents' positive attitudes towards the English language on the status dimension were a result of the overt prestige that is attributed to English worldwide (rather than merely in Quebec). However, a statistically significant correlation *was* found to exist between the length of time the immigrants had spent in Quebec and their evaluations of the French language (see 5.3.4), indicating that the less time they had spent in the province, the less utilitarian value they attributed to French. It can be assumed that the less time an individual has spent in Quebec, the less familiar they are with the regulations in place concerning, for example, the predominance of French as the language in the workplace. The fact that newcomers who had spent less time in Quebec considered French to have a lower utilitarian value than those who had spent more time in the province could therefore be seen as an indication of the fact that it might not actually be the French language *per se* that was being rated positively on the status dimension, but rather that the respondents' favourable evaluations in this respect actually only applied to the Quebec setting. This notion was supported by the comments made by a number of the respondents in the margins of their survey forms, which stressed the usefulness of French 'in Quebec' (see 5.3.2). This finding, too, is not surprising given the fact that the French language enjoys comparatively less utilitarian value worldwide than English does.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that – regardless of the higher status that might be attributed to English, worldwide and even in Quebec – the results of this study revealed that the young Quebecers of all mother tongue groups who took part in the research for the present thesis did consider French to be a language that holds a significant amount of overt prestige (see 5.3.2). This could be seen to attest to the continuing efficacy of Bill 101 (see 1.3.4). In the recent past, there has been a debate about the need to strengthen the bill. In November 2009, for example, PQ leader Pauline Marois criticised ‘the lukewarm, fainthearted and cautious attitude of the Charest government’ and stated that by doing ‘nothing in order to protect the French language’, Premier Charest runs the risk of ‘causing chaos’ in Montreal (cited in Robitaille 2009c). In Marois’ opinion, ‘electroshocks’ are necessary to revive the defence of the French language, and she suggested extending the provisions of Bill 101 to the level of daycare centres (cited in Robitaille 2009b; see also e.g. Pratte 2009). A further measure to strengthen Bill 101 was proposed by former Premier Bernard Landry and the PQ’s Comité national des jeunes (National Youth Committee) – namely the extension of obligatory French-medium education to CEGEPs (Robitaille 2009c; see also e.g. Thompson 2008; MacDonald 2009; Gazette 2009a). While it remains unclear what party leader Marois thinks about this proposition, many other PQ members have expressed themselves in favour of it. Member of the Assemblée nationale du Québec (National Assembly of Quebec), Pierre Curzi, for instance, stated that ‘it seems as if we have the choice between doing nothing and extending Bill 101 to CEGEPs’ (cited in Robitaille 2009b). Syndicalist Marc Laviolette explained that, in his opinion, it is time to adapt Bill 101 to the current situation: in 1977, when the bill was implemented, primary and secondary schooling was the minimum level of education required in order to find employment; however, in 2009, this is no longer sufficient, and a CEGEP qualification is needed – and consequently, post-secondary education at CEGEPs should also have to be in French (cited in Robitaille 2009b). Suggestions such as these appear to have arisen from the fear that French in Montreal remains endangered and that the current language legislation offers insufficient protection (see e.g. Descôteaux 2009; Gazette 2009b). However, the outcome of the present research seems to suggest that Bill 101 has succeeded in rendering French in Quebec a language that is high in utilitarian value – and it is, in fact, questionable whether it is even feasible to increase this utilitarian value much further. Particularly in the context of globalisation and Quebec’s proximity to the world’s largest anglophone markets, it is possible that the status attributed to the French language, even in the

province itself, might never actually surpass that attributed to English. CEGEP student Grégory Pélissier, for example, wrote in his recent letter to Pauline Marois in *Le Devoir* (Pélissier 2009) that while he is very much in favour of promoting the French language in Quebec, he does not agree with the idea of making post-secondary education in French obligatory:

Because of globalisation, English is no longer simply optional or an asset in the society we live in. It is a necessity! [...] Of course we need to protect our language and our culture. But we cannot close our eyes to the globalisation that expands every day, and to the importance of the English language in our society.

As Oakes and Warren (2007: 96, with reference to Spolsky 2004: 222-223) point out, language policies are rarely effective if they do not have support at the grassroots level, where actual language practices determine the ‘real language policy’: ‘if they are to be successful, language planning measures that seek to promote national languages need to be consistent with policies that promote knowledge of a *lingua franca* that will allow members of the population in question to compete in the global market’. Due to the global importance of English, the extension of the provisions of Bill 101 does not appear to have much support at the grassroots level, and it is thus questionable whether such a measure would actually succeed in increasing the status of French in Quebec. Perhaps realistically, under the current circumstances, the best that can be hoped for is to maintain the overt prestige that the French language holds at the moment rather than aim to increase it beyond that of English.

Moreover, one could wonder whether the status of French would augment significantly even if Quebec were to gain independence from the rest of Canada. Sovereignty has been considered seriously since the PQ first came to power in the 1970s (see 1.3.5) and it has recently become a more prominent part of public discourse again as a result of the debate about how the provincial government should react to the Supreme Court’s overruling of Bill 104, a decision that many see as a direct threat to the predominance of French in Quebec (see 1.3.4). However, as studies such as Oakes (2001) demonstrate, even in an independent francophone country such as France, young francophones seem to attribute a significant amount of status to the English language – an attitude that might be seen as the result of English being the global *lingua franca* of our time. Evidently, the hypothesis that English holds high status even in independent francophone countries needs to be supported by further research – in countries such as Belgium and Switzerland, which have significant French-speaking populations and

whose other official languages do not include English; but also in locations such as Burkina Faso, Mali and the Ivory Coast, that is, independent francophone countries that have French as their only official language. If the hypothesis proved to be correct, this would imply that neither language planning measures such as the strengthening of Bill 101 nor sovereignty for Quebec are likely to be very effective in further increasing the status attributed to French in the province. This, in turn, might be seen to indicate that the most sensible way of ensuring the predominance of French in Quebec and its role as the common public language in the province is the maintenance (or creation) of positive attitudes towards the language on the solidarity dimension, and therefore a strong integrative orientation to learning and using it among the non-francophone Quebecers.

Regarding the solidarity dimension, the survey results were indicative of more positive attitudes towards English among the anglophones (and, possibly therefore, among the Quebecers of immigrant descent, many of whom had English as their mother tongue) and more positive attitudes towards French among the francophones (and, possibly as a consequence of this, among the non-immigrants, most of whom were in fact French mother tongue speakers) (see 5.4.3). The outcome of the matched-guise experiment was rather different to the survey results, suggesting that on the solidarity dimension, too, both anglophones and francophones of all immigrant status groups held more positive attitudes towards English than towards French (see 6.2).

Attitudes towards English and French on the solidarity dimension were the only instance where the survey results and the findings obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment differed from each other significantly. It was explained in section 3.3 that it is not uncommon for direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation to yield dissimilar, and sometimes even contradictory results. As Ryan *et al.* (1987: 1076) note, this is by no means an issue of relative methodological merit, but it is due to the fact that the different methods simply produce results at different levels of analysis: ‘direct and indirect methods lay claim to quite different layers of experience and as such manifest sometimes quite contradictory, yet highly rational, attitude constellations’. It was therefore not entirely surprising that the results of the matched-guise experiment and the survey should yield different results – the question is what the rationale behind this difference might be.

As mentioned in section 2.2, a language/variety that is evaluated highly on the solidarity dimension tends to be one that elicits feelings of appreciation and belonging. This is typically the case for the language/variety of one's family life and intimate friendships, since it comes to represent the social group with which one identifies. The outcome of the survey – that is, the anglophones and francophones each holding more favourable attitudes towards their own mother tongue on the solidarity dimension – was therefore what the researcher had expected to find. It is unclear what exactly could have caused the preference for English among not only the anglophones but also the francophones that was revealed by the matched-guise experiment, and that had previously also been attested by Laur (2008). (Regrettably, while Laur discussed her findings on the status dimension in much detail, she failed to do the same with her results pertaining to the solidarity dimension.) As noted in section 2.3.3, the major strength of the matched-guise technique is assumed to lie in the elicitation of spontaneous attitudes that are less sensitive to reflection and social desirability biases than are directly assessed attitudes, and the underlying assumption of the method is that in studies of this kind, much more *private* reactions will be revealed than in standard measures of attitudes such as questionnaires or interviews. One possible explanation is thus that the preference for English is a matter of identification: perhaps on a more private level, both young anglophones and francophones nowadays identify more strongly as Canadians than they identify as Quebecers, thus considering English to be their common ingroup language. If this were the case, the preference for French among the francophones that surfaced in the survey could be a reflection of social desirability biases, that is, it could have been caused by the francophones feeling that they *should* identify as Quebecers rather than Canadians. Unfortunately, since the respondents of this study were not asked to provide any information concerning their self-identification in these terms, it is impossible to ascertain whether or not this is in fact the case. Furthermore, it remains unclear what could be the reason behind the results obtained by Fuga (2002), that is, equally favourable attitudes towards both English and French among Quebec francophones, as had also been attested by Genesee and Holobow (1989) in the mid-1980s. This finding is discrepant from the outcomes of both Laur (2008) and the present study. Consequently, further research seems necessary to explore (particularly francophone) Quebecers' language attitudes on the solidarity dimension, as well as the underlying reasons for these attitudes.

In summary, it can thus be said that the results of the present study, obtained by means of both the survey and the matched-guise experiment, could be seen to suggest that anglophone and francophone Quebecers continue to hold more positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension. Moreover, these results could also be interpreted as indicating that anglophone Quebecers still hold more positive attitudes towards English than towards French on the solidarity dimension. However, while the findings of the matched-guise experiment seem to indicate that the francophones, too, have more positive attitudes towards English in terms of solidarity, the outcome of the survey appear to reveal more positive attitudes towards French among the francophones in this respect, thus necessitating further research.

7.2 Anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French

As noted in section 3.2, language attitudes studies that were conducted at the beginning of the 21st century (Fuga 2002; Maurais 2008; St-Laurent 2008) showed that francophone Quebecers at that time continued to display the preference for EF over QF on the status dimension that they had been found to exhibit since the late 1950s (see e.g. Lambert *et al.* 1960; d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973; Genesee and Holobow 1989). In terms of the solidarity dimension, francophone Quebecers had first shifted from a preference for EF (see e.g. Lambert *et al.* 1960; d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973) to equally favourable attitudes towards both varieties (Genesee and Holobow 1989), and then to more positive attitudes towards QF than EF in the first years of the 21st century (Fuga 2002; Maurais 2008; St-Laurent 2008). Like the francophones, anglophone Quebecers in the more distant past were found to display a preference for EF over QF in terms of status (see e.g. Lambert *et al.* 1960, Preston 1963; Genesee and Holobow 1989). However, no reliable information seems to be available regarding their attitudes towards QF and EF on the status dimension in the more recent past. In terms of solidarity, the anglophones – just like the francophones – had shifted from more positive attitudes towards EF from the late 1950s onwards (see e.g. Lambert *et al.* 1960) to equally favourable attitudes towards QF and EF in the 1980s (Genesee and Holobow 1989). In the early 21st century, anglophone Quebecers appeared to have mixed attitudes towards QF in terms of solidarity (Maurais 2008).

At a more general level, the survey results of the present study suggested that the anglophone and francophone Quebecers of all immigrant status groups held attitudes

towards QF that were by no means *more* positive than their attitudes towards EF (see 5.5.1). Regrettably, it could not be ascertained by means of the data obtained with the closed questions whether, overall, the anglophones' and francophones' attitudes towards the two varieties were equally favourable or whether the respondents in fact had more positive attitudes towards EF. However, the data obtained with the more open-ended question as well as the comments made by a number of respondents in the margins of their survey forms appeared to indicate that the latter was the case. This notion was supported by the fact that both anglophones and francophones considered it important to keep QF as similar to EF as possible. Interestingly, upon closer inspection, the francophones were found to hold less negative attitudes towards QF in general than the other mother tongue groups.

It was not unexpected that the respondents' attitudes towards QF in general should appear to be less positive than their attitudes towards EF. As detailed in sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2, for well over a century, the variety of French spoken in Quebec was denigrated by foreigners and Quebecers alike, and the myth of French Canadian Patois as well as the debate about *joual* left many francophones in Quebec with a deep sense of linguistic insecurity. QF was variously described as lousy, incomprehensible, impure, incorrect and degenerated, and one can even find Quebecers who still equate QF in its entirety with *joual*, claiming that its syllables are 'swallowed', its vocabulary is 'truncated or imprecise', and its phrases are 'dodgy' (see e.g. Turcotte 2009). This is in stark contrast to the ideology of *le bon usage*, the myth of a standard of EF that is clearer, purer, richer, more elegant and more beautiful than any deviation from it – a myth which persists to this day (see e.g. Lüdi 1992: 155). The negative attitudes towards QF regarding general attributes such as beauty, richness and elegance, as well as the respondents' desire to keep QF as similar to EF as possible, could therefore be interpreted as a reflection of the endurance of this myth. Since the percentage of respondents claiming to speak QF (rather than EF or a variety in between the two) was higher among the francophones than among the other mother tongue groups, the francophones' less negative attitudes towards QF could have been the result of a simple ingroup bias.

Regarding the status dimension, too, the results of the questionnaire indicated that regardless of their immigrant status, the anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF were by no means *more* positive than their attitudes towards EF

(see 5.5.2). Again, it could not be ascertained by means of the data obtained with the closed questions whether the respondents' attitudes towards the two varieties were equally favourable or whether the anglophones and francophones in fact had more positive attitudes towards EF. However, again, the data obtained with the more open-ended question suggested that the latter was the case. The outcome of the matched-guise experiment also indicated more favourable attitudes towards EF than towards QF on the status dimension among the anglophones and francophones of all immigrant status groups (see 6.2).

Again, these results need to be interpreted in their historical and social context. As explained in section 1.3, for a long time, French was surrounded by a strong monocentric ideology, that is, a view of EF as the only standard form of the language. It is true that since the beginning of the debate about an autonomous and legitimate standard for QF in the 1970s, a broad consensus has formed regarding the existence of such a standard. However, there are still linguistically more conservative Quebecers who do not agree that EF should be abandoned as the model of reference for French speakers in the province (see e.g. Lockerbie 2005: 16; Maurais 2008b), as well as those who hold the even more extreme opinion that in reality, no standard of QF exists, that this standard is simply a myth (e.g. Paquot 2008). Furthermore, standard QF has not yet been codified by means of an officially sanctioned dictionary – and codification is a process that usually has the effect of legitimising a language/variety. In the absence of such a dictionary of QF, reference continues to be made to works produced in France, thus perpetuating the conception of EF as the only standard form of the French language. Many Quebecers even appear to be against the creation of an official dictionary of QF, instead expressing a preference for the same reference works to be used in the entire *francophonie* (see e.g. Maurais 2008b). These circumstances serve as a possible explanation for the anglophone and francophone respondents' negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension.

The survey results indicated that the anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension were more positive than their attitudes towards QF in general and on the status dimension. It appeared that the attitudes amongst the francophones were even more favourable in this respect than those of the other mother tongue groups (see 5.5.3). The outcome of the matched-guise experiment was also suggestive of more positive attitudes towards QF than towards EF on the solidarity

dimension among anglophones and francophones, regardless of their immigrant status (see 6.3).

As mentioned above (and detailed in section 2.2), individuals typically evaluate the language/variety of their family life and intimate friendships most favourably on the solidarity dimension as this comes to represent the social group with which they identify. Since the majority of anglophones and francophones claimed to speak either QF or a variety close to it (see 5.1.9), it can be assumed that it was also QF rather than EF that they used in their intimate friendships. Moreover, in the case of the francophones, QF was presumably also the variety they used in their family life. This circumstance serves as a likely explanation for the more positive attitudes towards QF than towards EF on the solidarity dimension, as well as the fact that the francophones held particularly favourable attitudes towards QF in this respect. It also lends itself as a possible explanation for the observation that the more *québécois* the respondents of all backgrounds judged their own variety of French to be, the more positive their attitudes were towards QF (see 5.5.4).

Interestingly, the results of this study showed that not only QF but also English was evaluated more positively than EF in terms of solidarity. This lends support to Byers-Heinlein's (2002) hypothesis that young Quebecers might have come to think of themselves as a Canadian ingroup that stands in opposition to a foreign, European outgroup (see 3.2.2). As mentioned above (see 7.1), if the anglophones and francophones do indeed identify as members of such a Canadian ingroup, this self-identification could also explain their positive attitudes towards English on the solidarity dimension. Further research is necessary to ascertain the tenability of this hypothesis.

While neither the survey results nor the findings of the matched-guise experiment revealed a significant effect caused by the respondents' immigrant status as such, the outcome of the survey nevertheless showed a correlation between the length of time spent in Quebec on the one hand, and attitudes towards QF on the other hand: the more time newcomers (of any mother tongue) had spent in the province, the less negative their attitudes were towards QF – in general as well as on the status and solidarity dimensions (see 5.5.4). A possible explanation for the less negative attitudes in terms of general attributes such as beauty, richness and elegance is that the more time these

immigrants had spent in Quebec, the more they had become aware of the fact that there is a complex hierarchy of social variation within QF – that is, that QF in its entirety is not synonymous with the urban lower-class variety known *joual* but that French in the province is spoken quite differently by members of different social classes, in different regions of the province and in different circumstances. Regarding the status dimension, it is probable that the more time newcomers had spent in Quebec, the more they had become aware of the fact that there is in fact a socially accepted standard for QF – at least in the province itself. Finally, the more time the new arrivals had spent in Quebec, the more they are likely to have come to use QF as the language of their close friendships. This lends itself as a possible explanation for the more positive attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension that was observed among those who had been in the province for longer.

In summary, it can be said that the findings of this thesis could be seen to indicate that francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF versus EF have remained the same: these French speakers appear to continue to hold both more positive attitudes towards EF on the status dimension and more positive attitudes towards QF in terms of solidarity. The results also shed light on anglophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF versus EF: while these English speakers, too, seem to continue to attribute more status to EF, they now appear to have shifted to more favourable attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension.

7.3 Allophones' attitudes towards English versus French

As shown in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, Quebec allophones' language choices and patterns of language use have indicated more positive attitudes towards English than towards French on the status dimension, and therefore a stronger instrumental orientation to learning the former than the latter, since at least the end of the Second World War. The results of a language attitudes study that was conducted at the beginning of the 21st century (Laur 2008) suggested that allophone Quebecers' attitudes on the status dimension had not changed, and that they still had a stronger instrumental orientation to learning English. The outcome of this study also indicated that allophone Quebecers had more positive attitudes towards English than towards French on the solidarity dimension, and thus a stronger integrative orientation to learning the former than the latter. The results of other investigations conducted at a similar time (CROP 2000; Beaulieu 2003), on the other hand, were suggestive of the

allophones favouring French in terms of solidarity, and therefore having a stronger integrative orientation to learning French than English.

At a more general level, in terms of attributes such as beauty, richness and elegance, the survey results of the present study indicated that the Quebec allophones of all immigrant group statuses held more positive attitudes towards French than towards English (see 5.4.4). The allophones thus seemed to share the language attitudes held by anglophone and francophone Quebecers, and again it is possible to explain these attitudes in terms of the enduring myth of French as a classical language blessed with unique virtues such as clarity, purity, richness and elegance (see 7.1).

Regarding the status dimension, the allophones of all immigrant statuses also appeared to share the anglophone and francophone Quebecers' language attitudes: while the survey results suggested that they held positive attitudes towards both English and French (see 5.2.2 and 5.3.2), a closer inspection of the findings revealed that their attitudes towards English were in fact *more* positive than their attitudes towards French in this respect (see 5.4.2). In fact, this preference for English surfaced even more strongly among the allophone respondents than among the anglophones and francophones – and, perhaps as a result of this, it was also particularly prevalent among the immigrants to Quebec, the majority of whom had a mother tongue other than English or French (see 5.1.8). The results obtained by means of the matched-guise experiment were also suggestive of more positive attitudes towards English on the status dimension among allophone Quebecers, regardless of their immigrant status (see 6.1). As was the case for the anglophones and francophones, these findings were supported by the respondents' CEGEP enrolment patterns, which indicated a preference for English-medium institutions (see 5.1.8 and 5.4.4). The results of the present study could thus be seen to indicate that allophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English and French on the status dimension have remained stable.

Again, these findings can be interpreted as a reflection of the strong power of attraction that the English language holds as a consequence of its status as the global *lingua franca* of our times, as well as its being the language of social and economic advancement in the rest of Canada and the United States (see 7.1). As noted in section 3.3.1, for many immigrants, past and present, the frame of reference was/is not necessarily French-speaking Quebec but the English-speaking rest of Canada and the

United States. Hence, these newcomers regard command of English as essential in order to fully exploit the economic opportunities offered to them in North America. This lends itself as a possible explanation for the particularly strong preference for English among the allophone immigrants (compared with anglophone and francophone Quebecers and those allophones who were born in the province).

In terms of solidarity, the findings obtained by means of the different methods of attitude elicitation differed significantly. The survey results suggested equally positive attitudes towards both English and French among the allophone respondents of all immigrant statuses, and therefore equally strong integrative orientations to learning and using both languages (see 5.2.3). The outcome of the matched-guise experiment, on the other hand, indicated that the allophones of all immigrant status groups held more positive attitudes towards English than towards French, and therefore had a stronger integrative orientation to learning and using the former than the latter (see 6.2).

The findings pertaining to the anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards English and French on the solidarity dimension also differed depending on the method of attitude elicitation employed (see 7.1). As explained above, this is not an issue of relative methodological merit, but it is due to the fact that direct and indirect methods lay claim to quite different levels of analysis. Again, a possible explanation for the findings is that the preference for English that surfaced in the matched-guise experiment (and that had previously also been observed by Laur 2008) is a matter of identification: perhaps young allophones in Quebec identify more strongly as Canadians than they identify as Quebecers, thus considering English to be their ingroup language. If this were the case, the equally positive attitudes towards English and French that surfaced in the survey (as well as the preference for French that had previously been documented by CROP 2000 and Beaulieu 2003) could be a reflection of social desirability biases, that is, it could have been caused by the allophones feeling that they *should* identify as strongly as Quebecers than as Canadians. This sense of obligation could be the result of the governmental efforts to create an affective attachment to both Quebec itself as well as the French language with the overall aim of making the latter the common public language of the province – yet if the allophones did indeed nevertheless identify as Canadians rather than as Quebecers, these governmental efforts would appear not to have been as successful as desired.

Regrettably, as mentioned above, the respondents of this study were not asked to provide any information concerning their self-identification, thus making it impossible to ascertain whether or not they did in fact consider themselves members of a Canadian ingroup. Consequently, further research seems necessary to explore allophone Quebecers' language attitudes on the solidarity dimension, as well as their basis for these attitudes.

In summary, the outcome of the present study appears to indicate that Quebec allophones continue to attribute more status to English than to French, and therefore still have a stronger instrumental orientation to learning the former than the latter. While the findings of the matched-guise experiment seem to indicate that the allophones have more positive attitudes towards English than towards French on the solidarity dimension, the survey results appear to reveal equally positive attitudes towards both languages, thus necessitating further research.

7.4 Allophones' attitudes towards Quebec French versus European French

Regarding the different varieties of French, the researcher is not aware of any studies that were conducted among Quebec allophones before the late 1990s (see 3.3.3). The results of studies carried out at that time and in the early 21st century (Bouchard and Maurais 1999; Maurais 2008; St-Laurent 2008) indicated more positive attitudes towards EF than towards QF on the status dimension, and therefore a stronger instrumental orientation to learning and speaking the former rather than the latter. Very little reliable and conclusive information appears to be available regarding allophones' attitudes towards QF versus EF on the solidarity dimension. It seems that in the recent past, these attitudes were likely to have been mixed (Bouchard and Maurais 1999; Maurais 2008).

At a more general level, in terms of attributes such as beauty, richness and elegance, the overall results of the present survey suggested that the allophone Quebecers held more positive attitudes towards EF than QF (see 5.5.1). The findings regarding the allophones thus parallel those pertaining to the anglophone and francophone Quebecers, and again, these findings are not unexpected and can be explained in terms of the persistent ideology of *le bon usage*, that is, the myth of a standard of EF that is

clearer, purer, richer, more elegant and more beautiful than any deviation from it (see 7.2).

Regarding the status dimension, too, the overall results of the survey were indicative of more positive attitudes towards EF than QF among the allophone respondents, regardless of their immigrant status (see 5.5.2). The outcome of the matched-guise experiment also indicated more favourable attitudes towards EF than QF on the status dimension among the allophones of all immigrant status groups (see 6.2). These findings revealed that Quebec allophones shared the anglophone and francophone Quebecers' attitudes towards QF and EF on the status dimension. Upon closer inspection, however, the survey data showed that the allophones held even less positive attitudes towards QF in this respect than the other mother tongue groups. Once again, these findings can be explained in terms of the fact that for a long time, EF served as the only model of reference for French speakers across the world, in combination with the lack of codification of the standard for QF (see 7.2). As noted in section 1.3.6, for a long time, the francophones from France have been reluctant to recognise the pluricentricity of the French language. While the more informed and open-minded echelons of the French population now appear to be moving away from the opinion that the French language is their 'rightful possession', it has to be borne in mind that, at least outside of Quebec, the notion that there is a standard of QF is still relatively recent and not yet in general circulation (see e.g. Lockerbie 2005: 16). Furthermore, EF remains the target norm taught to those learning French as a second language in most parts of the world (see e.g. Bourhis 1997: 307). Consequently, the conception of French among the majority of newcomers to Quebec is understandably more monocentric than that of individuals who were born in the province. The particularly negative attitudes towards QF on the status dimension among the allophone respondents, many of whom were immigrants to Quebec, are likely to be a reflection of this more monocentric view of the French language.

In terms of solidarity, the survey results indicated that the allophone Quebecers of all immigrant status groups held attitudes towards QF that were more positive than their attitudes towards EF in general and on the status dimension (see 5.5.3). The outcome of the matched-guise experiment also suggested more positive attitudes towards QF than towards EF on the solidarity dimension, regardless of the respondents' immigrant status (see 6.3). These findings revealed that on the solidarity dimension, too, the

allophones shared the attitudes held by the anglophones and francophones. Consequently, these findings can be explained in the same manner as the results pertaining to the Quebecers of other mother tongues (see 7.1): since the majority of allophones claimed to speak either QF or a variety close to it (see 5.1.9), it can be assumed that it was also QF rather than EF that they used as the language of their intimate friendships – and since the language of one's intimate friendships (as well as one's family life) comes to represent the social group with which one identifies, it typically elicits feelings of appreciation and belonging and is therefore evaluated highly in terms of solidarity. This also lends itself as a possible explanation for the fact that the more *québécois* the allophones judged their own variety of French to be, the more positive their attitudes were towards QF.

In summary, the results of the present study could be seen to indicate that Quebec allophones continue to hold more positive attitudes towards EF on the status dimension, and therefore still have a stronger instrumental motivation for learning and speaking this variety rather than QF. In terms of the solidarity dimension, however, the outcome of the present study revealed that allophones may now have more positive attitudes towards QF than towards EF, suggesting a stronger integrative orientation to learning and using the former rather than the latter.

It should be noted that while the overall tendencies were very similar for the anglophones, the francophones and the allophones who took part in this study, the variable mother tongue nevertheless had an effect on the respondents' language attitudes. The francophones held more positive attitudes towards French in terms of general attributes than the anglophones and the allophones. Moreover, the francophones also displayed less negative attitudes towards QF in terms of general attributes, and more favourable attitudes towards QF on the solidarity dimension, than the other mother tongue groups. The allophones, on the other hand, had even more positive attitudes towards English (compared to French in general) and EF (compared to QF) on the status dimension.

7.5 The influence of Quebecers' immigrant status

The researcher is not aware of any previous studies that have investigated the effect of Quebecers' immigrant status on their language attitudes. The outcome of the present study suggested that the respondents' mother tongue had a more significant impact on

the manner in which they evaluated the different languages/varieties than their background regarding immigration. Nevertheless, the survey results revealed one instance in which the respondents' immigrant status did seem to affect their language attitudes independently of their mother tongue: those respondents who were immigrants to Quebec appeared to have slightly more positive attitudes towards French (compared to English) on the solidarity dimension than the non-immigrants and the Quebecers of immigrant descent (see 5.4.3). This finding cannot be explained in terms of mother tongue group membership since only a small number of these immigrants were francophones and the majority were in fact allophones (see 5.1.8) – and the allophones as a group did not exhibit this same preference for French in terms of solidarity (see 5.4.3 and 7.3).

As explained in section 1.3, the integration of immigrants into the francophone community constitutes a crucial factor in ensuring the future of the French language in Quebec. Particularly without a sustained francophone birth rate, the integration of immigrants into the francophone rather than the anglophone linguistic community has become strategically important as a means of stemming the long-term decline of the French-speaking population in Quebec. Consequently, the provincial government has been trying to encourage an affective attachment to the province itself, as well as to the French language, among immigrants and their descendants. Effectively, this means that the aim has become to generate positive attitudes towards French on the solidarity dimension amongst these new Quebecers – and, in the case of the non-francophones, an integrative orientation to learning and using French – with the overall goal being to make French the common public language, to be used by Quebecers of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. As noted in section 1.6, the plan to introduce Quebec citizenship, which was supposed to serve this purpose, has (so far) been unsuccessful. Nevertheless, immigrants to Quebec are more than likely to be aware of the governmental efforts since these are not only mirrored in official rhetoric but also in practice – be it in the free language classes for adults and the *classes d'accueil* for school-aged children, or the overall model that Quebec has adopted for the integration of its immigrants. Known as interculturalism, this model involves 'the meeting of cultures, their mutual interpenetration and the reciprocal recognition of their respective contributions, within a common civic culture and a French-speaking framework' (Anctil 1996: 143). In effect, this means that newcomers to Quebec are welcomed without being expected to assimilate to the majority culture as long as they accept

certain basic conditions, including the use of French in their public communications. As Oakes and Warren (2007: 149) note, Quebec as a host provides its guests with ‘the key to the house’, that is, the French language, ‘so that they can make themselves totally at home’. The somewhat more positive attitudes towards French (compared to English) that the immigrants exhibited on the solidarity dimension could thus be seen to suggest that the provincial government’s efforts to generate an affective attachment to the province of Quebec, as well as the French language itself, have at least to a certain extent been successful. While the immigrants’ preference for French as evidenced by the survey results was only slight, it is possible that further measures, such as the eventual creation of Quebec citizenship, might lead to a strengthening of these favourable attitudes. Quebec’s model of intercultural citizenship ‘allows the affirmation of a distinct culture predicated on the French language, the accommodation and respect of pluralism, and the construction of a common identity by Quebecers of all ethnic origins’ (Oakes and Warren 2007: 197). It thus has the potential to generate a stronger affective attachment to the French language, which, in turn, could ensure the future of French as the common public language in Quebec – despite the undisputed status that is attributed to the English language.

7.6 Suggestions for further research

At the beginning of this thesis, it was argued that both direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation need to be employed in research that wishes to make definitive statements about language attitudes – for ‘[t]o use only one method, and particularly so in pursuit of socio-political ideals and/or policy implementation, is to be guilty of misunderstanding the nature of language attitudes’ (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1076). A case was also made for differentiating between the two main dimensions of language attitudes, that is, status and solidarity, since these are crucial determinants of why certain languages/varieties persist and others do not, as well as why certain language planning policies are implemented successfully while others fail (Cargile *et al.* 1994: 224). By taking this into account, this thesis provides an original insight into the current language attitudes held by young Quebecers of different mother tongues and different backgrounds regarding immigration. It not only contributes to the extensive body of literature on the topic of language attitudes, both in general and in Quebec in particular, but it also provides (albeit tentative) conclusions concerning the effectivity of language legislation in Quebec as well as possible directions for the future.

However, as Gardner (1985: 4) points out, ‘there is no substitute for replication. One study, no matter how carefully conducted, cannot be taken as conclusive. It is only with repeated investigation that the complexities of an area can truly be appreciated and comprehended.’ It should also be borne in mind that the work presented here reflects the situation among only a relatively small number of participants: a total of 164 students. In order to make more confident generalisations, further research needs to be conducted amongst a greater number of respondents – and preferably not solely among CEGEP students but also among Quebecers of different ages, different degrees of bilingualism, as well as various socio-economic and educational backgrounds. If this were done, greater assurance could be given that the data presented here is truly representative of young Quebecers’ attitudes towards English, QF and EF. Furthermore, an extension of the present research to a larger and more varied subject sample should yield findings that reflect the attitudes of a much wider cross-section of society, thus providing a more appropriate basis for future language legislation.

In order to more thoroughly examine Quebecers’ language attitudes, it would also be desirable to conduct large-scale matched-guise experiments that employ not only male speakers, as the research conducted for this thesis did, but also female speakers – and maybe even speakers of different age groups. While the use of young adult male speakers is ‘a reasonable initial step in the identification of major effects’ (Ryan *et al.* 1987: 1072), the results of Laur (2008) suggest that the speakers’ sex does have a significant and systematic impact on Quebecers’ attitudes towards English versus French (see 3.1.2, 3.2.2 and 3.3.2). It would be desirable to examine whether these findings were an exception, and, if not, what reasons underlie the differences in the evaluations that are made of male and female speakers. Furthermore, it should be investigated whether the speaker’s sex also affects individuals’ attitudes towards QF versus EF. In addition to this, it would be of interest to investigate the potential effect of the speakers’ age. It is not unlikely, for example, that a 20 year-old francophone would be evaluated differently from an 80 year-old French speaker, since the latter no longer needs to compete on a global market, while the former does.

Future research into language attitudes in Quebec should also investigate self-identifications in terms of ‘Canadian’ and ‘Quebecer’ in order to ascertain the tenability of the afore-mentioned hypothesis that (at least young) Quebecers have come to think of themselves as a Canadian ingroup – an ingroup that stands in

opposition to a foreign, European outgroup. Moreover, once the new, officially sanctioned dictionary of QF has been published, it should be examined whether or not the codification of a standard for QF has the intended effects on the language attitudes held by Quebecers of different backgrounds – that is, whether it relieves those born in the province of their linguistic insecurity *vis-à-vis* EF, and whether it improves the power of attraction of QF among immigrants to Quebec by providing them with a socially acceptable, locally-defined standard.

In terms of methodology, future research could examine all three components of Quebecers' attitudes towards English, QF and EF. While the present study focused on the cognitive component, that is, the respondents' thoughts and beliefs about the languages/varieties, it would be useful to also investigate the affective and the conative components – that is, the emotions and feelings elicited by the languages/varieties as well as the respondents' behavioural intentions and their actual language behaviour (see 2.1). It can be hoped that an investigation of all three of these components would yield a broader and more complex picture of Quebecers' language attitudes.

With regard to theory, it would be of interest to further investigate the dimensions of language attitudes as well as the types of orientations that learners can have towards the acquisition of a second language. As noted in section 2.2, status and solidarity are assumed to be the two *main* dimensions of language attitudes – which implies the possibility that they are not the only ones. (In this thesis, for example, attitudes were also examined on what was here referred to as 'a more general level' – that is, in terms of attributes such as beauty, richness and elegance, which the researcher could not unequivocally categorise as pertaining to either of the two main dimensions. Other researchers, such as Lambert *et al.* 1966 and Laur 2008, conducted matched-guise experiments in which they differentiated between status, solidarity and competence traits.) The distinction between instrumental and integrative orientations to second language learning is not assumed to be a strict dichotomy, either. In a study of American learners of Japanese, for instance, Oxford and Shearin (1994) came across reasons such as receiving intellectual stimulation, seeking personal challenge, and pursuing a fascination with writing systems – none of which can easily be classified as either instrumental or integrative. As explained in section 2.2, the notion of different orientations to language learning originates from the tradition of research in the area of second language acquisition that was started by Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert

in the late 1950s (see e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1959; 1972). Gardner himself (1985: 51) stressed that the authors by no means regarded instrumental and integrative orientations as the *only* possible kinds. This is also indicated by the fact that in Gardner and Lambert (1972), they considered other possible orientations, such as a manipulative or Machiavellian one. However, regrettably, neither this Machiavellian orientation nor any others apart from the instrumental and integrative ones appear to have been investigated further in subsequent research. More detailed knowledge regarding the dimensions of language attitudes as well as the types of orientations that learners can have towards the acquisition of a second language would not only enable the construction of better research instruments, but might also enable the implementation of more effective language policies.

Finally, studies of a similar type as this one conducted in other, independent French-speaking countries would provide additional data on the status that is attributed to the English language in the francophone world. Should it prove to be true that English holds higher status than French even in independent francophone countries, this could have significant implications for the particular kinds of language planning that are required in order to ensure the future of French — that is, it would indicate that the most sensible way of assuring the role of French as the common public language in the province is the maintenance (or creation) of positive attitudes towards the language on the solidarity dimension, and therefore a strong integrative orientation to learning and using it among non-francophone Quebecers and immigrants to Quebec.

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Appendix A

Evaluation traits employed in previous matched-guise experiments

d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973):

intelligence, education, likeability, ambitiousness, toughness

Anisfeld and Lambert (1964):

entertainingness, kindness, gentleness, friendliness, niceness, trustworthiness, intelligence, self-confidence, interestingness, good looks, helpfulness, wisdom, good disposition, height, religiousness

Bourhis, Giles and Lambert (1975):

intelligence, education, determination, sincerity, mockery, ambition, generosity, pride, flexibility, trustworthiness, independence, irony, self confidence, humour

Byers-Heinlein (2002):

- status: intelligence, dependability, education, ambition, leadership qualities
- solidarity: kindness, sense of humour, warmth, likeability, sociability

Fuga (2002):

- status: intelligence, dependability, education, ambition, leadership qualities
- solidarity: kindness, sense of humour, warmth, likeability, sociability

Genesee and Bourhis (1982):

friendliness, kindness, competence, intelligence, consideration, honesty

Genesee and Holobow (1989):

- status: intelligence, dependability, education, ambitiousness, leadership
- solidarity: kindness, warmth, likeability, sense of humour, colourfulness
- miscellaneous: religiousness, height, toughness

Giles, Bourhis and Davies (1979):

pleasantness, prestige, intelligence, likeability, ambition, toughness

Lambert, Frankel and Tucker (1966):

- personal integrity: kindness, gentleness, trustworthiness, consideration
- personal competence: intelligence, self-confidence, wisdom
- social attractiveness: amusingness, pleasantness, friendliness, interestingness, good disposition, good looks
- miscellaneous: height, religiousness

Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960):

sense of humour, entertainingness, kindness, general likeability, sociability, character, dependability, leadership, intelligence, self-confidence, ambition, good looks, height, religiousness

Laur (2008):

- status: intelligence, education, dependability
- competence: ambition, character, leadership, dynamism
- solidarity: likeability, sociability, distinction, warmth, sense of humour

Preston (1963):

- competence: intelligence, ambition, self-confidence, leadership, courageousness
- integrity: dependability, sincerity, character, conscientiousness, kindness
- social attractiveness: sociability, likeability, entertainingness, sense of humour, affectionateness
- miscellaneous: religiousness, good looks, height

Appendix B

Questionnaire in English

Respondent code: _____

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN QUEBEC

This questionnaire is part of a study that looks at language attitudes in Quebec. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions, as the survey is all about your own personal experiences and opinions. Therefore, it is important that you fill in the questionnaire without anyone else's help, so that the answers reflect your own point of view. Of course, the answers you give in this questionnaire will remain anonymous. Thank you.

ABOUT YOURSELF

To begin with, please answer a few general questions about yourself. For those questions which require written responses, write on the lines provided; for those questions where several different options are given, put a cross in the box that is applicable.

1) What year are you in in your Cégep? _____

2) How old are you? _____ years

3) Gender:

☐ male

☐ female

4) Where were you born? Please give the name of

the town or the city _____

if it is in Canada: the province _____

or, if it is not in Canada: the country _____

5) How long have you been living in Quebec?

☐ since birth

☐ not since birth: (please specify the number of months or years) _____

ABOUT YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

For questions 6 to 9, please judge your level of competence in the language(s) you know. For each aspect of the language(s), i.e. understanding, speaking, reading and writing, please rate yourself on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning 'not at all', and 5 meaning 'perfectly'. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your competence in the language(s) you know.

	not at all				perfectly
6a) I understand English	1	2	3	4	5
6b) I speak English	1	2	3	4	5
6c) I read English	1	2	3	4	5
6d) I write English	1	2	3	4	5
7a) I understand French	1	2	3	4	5
7b) I speak French	1	2	3	4	5
7c) I read French	1	2	3	4	5
7d) I write French	1	2	3	4	5
8a) I understand _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
8b) I speak _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
8c) I read _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
8d) I write _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
9a) I understand _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
9b) I speak _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
9c) I read _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5
9d) I write _____ (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5

10) Would you consider yourself to be:

☐ monolingual: specify language _____

☐ bilingual: specify languages _____

☐ trilingual: specify languages _____

☐ multilingual: specify languages _____

11) Please fill in the appropriate fields in the table below about your knowledge of English, French, and other languages, leaving blank whatever is not applicable.

language	the <i>age</i> at which you began learning the language	<i>where</i> you learnt the language (e.g. at home, in school, etc.)
a) English		
b) French		
c) other (please specify)		
d) other (please specify)		

ABOUT YOUR PARENTS

The questions in this section concern your parents' languages, birthplace and how long they have been living in Quebec for. For those questions which require written responses, write on the lines provided; for those questions where several different options are given, please put a cross in the box that is applicable.

12) Where was your mother born? Please give the name of

the town or the city _____

if it is in Canada: the province _____

or, if it is not in Canada: the country _____

☐ I don't know

13) How long has your mother been living in Quebec?

☐ since birth

☐ not since birth: (specify the approximate number of months or years) _____

☐ never

☐ I don't know

14) What is/are your mother's main language(s)?

☐ English

☐ French

☐ other (please specify) _____

☐ other (please specify) _____

Also, if your mother was not born in Quebec, what was/were her main language(s) before she moved here?

☐ English

☐ French

☐ other (please specify) _____

☐ she has never lived in Quebec

☐ I don't know

- 15) Where was your father born? Please give the name of
the town or the city _____
if it is in Canada: the province _____
or, if it is not in Canada: the country _____
- ☐ I don't know
- 16) How long has your father been living in Quebec?
- ☐ since birth
- ☐ not since birth: (specify the approximate number of months or years) _____
- ☐ never
- ☐ I don't know
- 17) What is/are your father's main language(s)?
- ☐ English
- ☐ French
- ☐ other (please specify) _____
- ☐ other (please specify) _____

Also, if your father was not born in Quebec, what was/were his main language(s) before he moved here?

- ☐ English
- ☐ French
- ☐ other (please specify) _____
- ☐ he has never lived in Quebec
- ☐ I don't know

ABOUT ENGLISH

Here are some statements about the English language. For each statement, please say if you agree or not by putting a cross in the box which most corresponds to your point of view.

	completely agree	partially agree	undecided	don't really agree	don't agree at all
18) English is a beautiful language.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19) English is a language that is well suited to modern society.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20) English is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21) Knowing English will increase my opportunities to find employment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22) English is richer than French.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23) Knowing English is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24) English is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25) Knowing English is an important part of my personal identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26) What five words do you think are the most suitable to describe the English language?

1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____,

4. _____, 5. _____

ABOUT FRENCH

Here are some statements about the French language. For each statement, please say if you agree or not by putting a cross in the box which most corresponds to your point of view.

	completely agree	partially agree	undecided	don't really agree	don't agree at all
27) French is a beautiful language.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28) French is a language that is well suited to modern society.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29) French is a language that lends itself well to expressing feelings and emotions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30) Knowing French will increase my opportunities to find employment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31) French is more elegant than English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32) Knowing French is a significant part of Canadian cultural heritage.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33) French is a language that is important to know in order to get far in life.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34) Knowing French is an important part of my personal identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

35) What five words do you think are the most suitable to describe the French language?

1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____,

4. _____, 5. _____

ABOUT QUEBEC FRENCH

Here are some statements not just about French in general, but about Quebec French in particular. For each statement, please say if you agree or not by putting a cross in the box which most corresponds to your point of view.

		completely agree	partially agree	undecided	don't really agree	don't agree at all
36)	Quebec French is more beautiful than European French.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37)	Quebec French is better suited to modern society than European French.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38)	Quebec French lends itself to expressing feelings and emotions more readily than European French does.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39)	Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) increases my opportunities to find employment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40)	Quebec French is richer than European French.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41)	Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) constitutes a significant part of Quebec's cultural heritage.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42)	Quebec French speakers are likely to get farther in life than European French speakers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43)	Speaking Quebec French (rather than European French) is important for my sense of personal identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44)	Quebec French is more elegant than European French.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45)	It is important to keep Quebec French as similar to European French as possible.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46) What five words do you think are the most suitable to describe Quebec French?

1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____,

4. _____, 5. _____

47) If French is one of the languages you know, is the kind of French you speak closer to Quebec French or European French? Please rate your variety of French on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning 'Quebec French' and 5 meaning 'European French'.

Quebec
French

European
French

1

2

3

4

5

Thank you for filling in this questionnaire – your help is very much appreciated!

Appendix C

Questionnaire in French

Code participant: _____

LES ATTITUDES LANGAGIÈRES AU QUÉBEC

Le questionnaire qui suit fait partie d'une étude qui examine les attitudes langagières au Québec. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses aux questions car ce sont tes expériences et tes opinions personnelles qui font l'objet de l'étude. C'est pourquoi il est important que tu remplisses le questionnaire tout(e) seul(e) afin que les réponses reflètent ton point de vue personnel. Bien évidemment, tes réponses resteront anonymes. Merci beaucoup.

À PROPOS DE TOI-MÊME

Tout d'abord, pourrais-tu répondre à quelques questions générales à propos de toi-même. Pour les questions qui demandent une réponse écrite, réponds sur les lignes prévues à cet effet; pour les questions à choix unique, coche la case appropriée.

1) En quelle année collégiale es-tu? _____

2) Quel âge as-tu? _____ ans

3) Sexe:

☐ masculin

☐ féminin

4) Où es-tu né(e)? Pourrais-tu préciser:

le village ou la ville _____

si c'est au Canada: la province _____

ou, si ce n'est pas au Canada: le pays _____

5) Depuis quand vis-tu au Québec?

☐ depuis ma naissance

☐ pas depuis ma naissance: (précise combien de mois/d'années) _____

À PROPOS DES LANGUES QUE TU CONNAIS

Pour les questions 6 à 9, peux-tu juger de ton niveau pour la / les langue(s) que tu connais, s'il te plaît. Pour chacun des aspects de la langue / des langues, à savoir, la compréhension, le parler, la lecture et l'écriture, pourrais-tu t'évaluer sur une échelle de 1 à 5: 1 correspond à « pas du tout » et 5 à « parfaitement ». Pour chacune des langues que tu connais, encercle le numéro qui correspond le mieux à ton niveau de langue.

	pas du tout			parfaitement	
6a) Je comprends le français	1	2	3	4	5
6b) Je parle le français	1	2	3	4	5
6c) Je lis le français	1	2	3	4	5
6d) J'écris le français	1	2	3	4	5
7a) Je comprends l'anglais	1	2	3	4	5
7b) Je parle l'anglais	1	2	3	4	5
7c) Je lis l'anglais	1	2	3	4	5
7d) J'écris l'anglais	1	2	3	4	5
8a) Je comprends _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
8b) Je parle _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
8c) Je lis _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
8d) J'écris _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
9a) Je comprends _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
9b) Je parle _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
9c) Je lis _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5
9d) J'écris _____ (préciser)	1	2	3	4	5

10) Te considères-tu comme:

- ☐ monolingue: précise la langue _____
- ☐ bilingue: précise les langues _____
- ☐ trilingue: précise les langues _____
- ☐ multilingue: précise les langues _____

11) S'il te plaît, complète le tableau suivant concernant ta connaissance du français, de l'anglais et des autres langues. Ne mets rien en face de la langue / des langues que tu ne connais pas.

langue	<i>l'âge auquel tu as commencé à apprendre cette langue</i>	<i>où tu as appris cette langue (par exemple, à la maison, à l'école, etc.)</i>
a) français		
b) anglais		
c) autre (préciser)		
d) autre (préciser)		

À PROPOS DE TES PARENTS

Les questions de la section suivante concernent les langues que connaissent tes parents, leur lieu de naissance et depuis combien de temps ils vivent au Québec. Pour les questions qui demandent une réponse écrite, réponds sur les lignes prévues à cet effet; pour les questions à choix unique, coche la case appropriée.

12) Où es née ta mère? Pourrais-tu préciser:

le village ou la ville _____

si c'est au Canada: la province _____

ou, si ce n'est pas au Canada: le pays _____

☐ je ne sais pas

13) Depuis quand ta mère vit-elle au Québec?

☐ depuis sa naissance

☐ pas depuis sa naissance: (précise à peu près combien de mois/d'années) _____

☐ jamais

☐ je ne sais pas

14) Quelle(s) est/sont la langue/les langues principale(s) de ta mère?

☐ français

☐ anglais

☐ autre (préciser) _____

☐ autre (préciser) _____

Et, si ta mère n'est pas née au Québec, quelle(s) fut/furent sa langue/ses langues principale(s) avant d'emménager ici?

☐ français

☐ anglais

☐ autre (préciser) _____

☐ elle n'a jamais vécu au Québec

☐ je ne sais pas

15) Où es né ton père? Pourrais-tu préciser:

le village ou la ville _____

si c'est au Canada: la province _____

ou, si ce n'est pas au Canada: le pays _____

☐ je ne sais pas

16) Depuis quand ton père vit-il au Québec?

☐ depuis sa naissance

☐ pas depuis sa naissance: (précise à peu près combien de mois/d'années) _____

☐ jamais

☐ je ne sais pas

17) Quelle(s) est/sont la langue/les langues principale(s) de ton père?

☐ français

☐ anglais

☐ autre (préciser) _____

☐ autre (préciser) _____

Et, si ton père n'est pas né au Québec, quelle(s) fut/furent sa langue/ses langues principale(s) avant d'emménager ici?

☐ français

☐ anglais

☐ autre (préciser) _____

☐ il n'a jamais vécu au Québec

☐ je ne sais pas

À PROPOS DE LA LANGUE ANGLAISE

Voici quelques remarques concernant la langue anglaise. Pour chaque proposition, pourrais-tu dire si tu es d'accord ou non en cochant la case qui correspond le mieux à ton point de vue.

	tout à fait d'accord	plutôt d'accord	indécis(e)	pas tellement d'accord	pas du tout d'accord
18) L'anglais est une belle langue.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19) L'anglais est une langue qui est très appropriée pour la société moderne.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20) L'anglais est une langue qui se prête à l'expression des sentiments et des émotions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21) Savoir l'anglais augmentera mes chances de trouver un emploi.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22) L'anglais est plus riche que le français.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23) Connaître l'anglais constitue une partie significative de l'héritage culturel canadien.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24) L'anglais est une langue qu'il est important de connaître pour réussir dans la vie.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25) La connaissance de l'anglais est une composante importante de mon identité personnelle.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26) Quels sont les cinq mots qui te paraissent les plus appropriés pour décrire la langue anglaise?					
1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____,					
4. _____, 5. _____					

À PROPOS DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE

Voici quelques remarques sur la langue française. Pour chaque proposition, pourrais-tu dire si tu es d'accord ou non en cochant la case qui correspond le mieux à ton point de vue.

	tout à fait d'accord	plutôt d'accord	indécis(e)	pas tellement d'accord	pas du tout d'accord
27) Le français est une belle langue.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28) Le français est une langue qui est très appropriée pour la société moderne.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29) Le français est une langue qui se prête à l'expression des sentiments et des émotions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30) Savoir le français augmentera mes chances de trouver un emploi.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31) Le français est plus élégant que l'anglais.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32) Connaître le français constitue une partie significative de l'héritage culturel canadien.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33) Le français est une langue qu'il est important de connaître pour réussir dans la vie.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34) La connaissance du français est une composante importante de mon identité personnelle.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35) Quels sont les cinq mots qui te paraissent les plus appropriés pour décrire la langue française?					
1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____,					
4. _____, 5. _____					

À PROPOS DU FRANÇAIS QUÉBÉCOIS

Voici quelques remarques non seulement sur le français en général, mais sur le français québécois en particulier. Pour chaque proposition, pourrais-tu dire si tu es d'accord ou non en cochant la case qui correspond le mieux à ton point de vue.

	tout à fait d'accord	plutôt d'accord	indécis(e)	pas tellement d'accord	pas du tout d'accord
36) Le français québécois est plus beau que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37) Le français québécois est plus approprié pour la société moderne que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38) Le français québécois se prête plus à l'expression des sentiments et des émotions que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39) Mes chances de trouver un emploi augmenteront si je parle le français québécois plutôt que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40) Le français québécois est plus riche que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41) Parler le français québécois plutôt que le français européen constitue une partie significative de l'héritage culturel québécois.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42) Les gens qui parlent le français québécois ont plus de chance de réussir dans la vie que ceux qui parlent le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43) Il est important pour mon identité personnelle de parler le français québécois plutôt que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44) Le français québécois est plus élégant que le français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45) Il est important de conserver le français québécois le plus proche possible du français européen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 46) Quels sont les cinq mots qui te paraissent les plus appropriés pour décrire le français québécois?

1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____,

4. _____, 5. _____

- 47) Est-ce que tu parles un français plutôt québécois ou plutôt européen? Pourrais-tu l'évaluer sur une échelle de 1 à 5: 1 correspond à « tout à fait québécois » et 5 à « tout à fait européen ».

tout à fait
québécois

tout à fait
européen

1 2 3 4 5

Merci d'avoir rempli ce questionnaire, ta collaboration est très précieuse!

Appendix D

French version of the text used in the matched-guise experiment

Un froid matin de janvier, par une température de moins vingt degrés celsius, une jeune fille de treize ans se trouva enfoui sous les débris produits par l'explosion du système de chauffage de ses parents. Lorsque les pompiers arrivèrent sur les lieux, elle était trempée jusqu'aux os et il a fallu deux heures à ses sauveteurs pour la sortir de là et la conduire à l'hôpital. La température de son corps était au-dessous des trente trois degrés celsius; de plus, elle était secouée de violents frissons, avait perdu le sens de l'équilibre, parlait de façon incohérente et souffrait de fatigue extrême.

Appendix E

Evaluation sheet in English

Respondent code: _____

EVALUATION SHEET

You will get to listen to brief audio-recordings of a number of people reading the same text, some in French and some in English. After each voice, please describe the speaker by marking a vertical line somewhere along each of the rating scales (i.e. the horizontal lines provided) at the point which best corresponds to your impressions. Please try to respond as intuitively and as quickly as possible.

PRACTICE SPEAKERS

Practice speaker 1:

Not at all kind	_____	Very kind
Not at all intelligent	_____	Very intelligent
No sense of humour	_____	Good sense of humour
Cold	_____	Warm
Not at all dependable	_____	Very dependable

Practice speaker 2:

Not at all likeable	_____	Very likeable
Not educated	_____	Very educated
Not at all ambitious	_____	Very ambitious
Not at all sociable	_____	Very sociable
Has no leadership qualities	_____	Has many leadership qualities

Respondent code: _____

SPEAKERS

Please place a vertical line through each horizontal line, indicating your rating of **Speaker 1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9** for each of the descriptors listed below:

Not at all kind	_____	Very kind
Not at all intelligent	_____	Very intelligent
No sense of humour	_____	Good sense of humour
Cold	_____	Warm
Not at all dependable	_____	Very dependable
Not at all likeable	_____	Very likeable
Not educated	_____	Very educated
Not at all ambitious	_____	Very ambitious
Not at all sociable	_____	Very sociable
Has no leadership qualities	_____	Has many leadership qualities

Respondent code: _____

Please answer these questions about your impressions of this study:

1. What do you believe this study was about?

2. Did you find that there was anything unusual about any of the nine voices?

Appendix F

Evaluation sheet in French

Code participant: _____

FEUILLE D'ÉVALUATION

Tu vas maintenant écouter des courts enregistrements de plusieurs personnes lisant un texte identique; certaines personnes le lisent en français, d'autres en anglais. Après chaque enregistrement, pourrais-tu décrire la personne que tu as entendue, en indiquant par une ligne verticale le niveau qui correspond le mieux à tes impressions, sur chacune des échelles d'évaluation ci-dessous (c'est-à-dire les lignes horizontales). Essaie de répondre le plus possible de manière spontanée et rapide.

ENREGISTREMENTS (TESTS)

Enregistrement (Test) 1:

Pas gentil du tout	_____	Très gentil
Pas intelligent du tout	_____	Très intelligent
Aucun sens de l'humour	_____	Très bon sens de l'humour
Froid	_____	Chaleureux
Pas fiable du tout	_____	Très fiable

Enregistrement (Test) 2:

Pas sympathique du tout	_____	Très sympathique
Sans instruction	_____	Très instruit
Sans ambition	_____	Très ambitieux
Pas sociable du tout	_____	Très sociable
N'a pas du tout les qualités d'un leader	_____	A toutes les qualités d'un leader

Code participant: _____

ENREGISTREMENTS

Merci d'indiquer ton évaluation de **l'enregistrement 1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9** par une ligne verticale sur chacune des lignes horizontales ci-dessous :

Pas gentil du tout	_____	Très gentil
Pas intelligent du tout	_____	Très intelligent
Aucun sens de l'humour	_____	Très bon sens de l'humour
Froid	_____	Chaleureux
Pas fiable du tout	_____	Très fiable
Pas sympathique du tout	_____	Très sympathique
Sans instruction	_____	Très instruit
Sans ambition	_____	Très ambitieux
Pas sociable du tout	_____	Très sociable
N'a pas du tout les qualités d'un leader	_____	A toutes les qualités d'un leader

Code participant: _____

Merci de répondre aux questions relatives à tes impressions sur cette étude :

1. Sur quoi penses tu que cette étude porte?

2. As-tu remarqué quoi que ce soit d'inhabituel parmi les 9 enregistrements que tu as entendu?

Appendix G

Words used to describe English

L1 English (and other):

- general – positive: beautiful, rich, clear, smooth, casual, laid back, spontaneous, cool, descriptive, expressive, diverse, elegant, cultural, poetic, delicate, complex, literary, sophisticated, romantic, easy, uncomplicated, simple, straightforward, short, understandable, comprehensible, accessible, nice, good, great, amazing, wonderful, sweet, perfect, magical, fun, likable, liked, popular, exciting, fascinating, interesting, well-modulated, clean, natural, suitable, liberal
- general – negative: complicated, confusing, choppy, harsh, crude, rough, vulgar, mean, lazy, boring, snob, boastful
- status-related: global, international, universal, worldwide, widespread, well-known, worldly, famous, recognized, useful, helpful, handy, practical, convenient, influential, important, essential, intelligent, educated, knowledgeable, adaptive, evolving, modern
- solidarity-related: emotional, comfortable, inviting, Canadian, Ontario
- uncertain: different, wordy, main, neutral, vast, interact, methodological, outspoken, non, old, scientific

L1 French (and other):

- general – positive: beautiful, complex, rich, easy, simple, concise, direct, accessible, informal, culture, poetic, nuanced, nice, pleasant, interesting, popular, dynamic, musical, melodious, fun, entertaining, appropriate, suitable, soft, fluid, flowing, sexy, speaks well
- general – negative: complicated, difficult, undeveloped, limited, imprecise, vague, common, random, not artistic, cold, snob, ugly, assimilation, sad, dry, imposing
- status-related: international, universal, global, world-wide, wide-spread, recognised, convenient, polyvalent, necessary, useful, practical, indispensable, important, essential, commerce, economy, profitable, employment, business, money, profit, good for connections, success, pays off, monopoly, educative, smart, efficient, evolved, intelligent, future, modern
- solidarity-related: ---
- uncertain: United States, sex drugs rock and roll, Mike Ribeiro, original, butterfly, general, huge, vast, mainstream, punt, everyday, short, fast, varied, ice cream, second language, different, company, general, communication, documented, gangster, neutral, normal

L1 English and French (and other):

- general – positive: beautiful, rich, easy, simple, easy-going, descriptive, expressive, poetic, cultural, colourful, precise, interesting, flowing, well-suited, logical, comprehensible
- general – negative: harsh
- status-related: international, global, universal, well-known, convenient, important, significant, intelligent, instructive, money, modern, standard
- solidarity-related: heritage
- uncertain: short, different

L1 Other(s):

- general – positive: beautiful, rich, smooth, precise, clear, great, good, nice, fun, exciting, cool, easy, simple, straightforward, elegant, classy, sophisticated, poetic, complex, liberty, democracy, peace, comprehensible, understandable, expressive, soft, fair, credible, strong, respectable, suitable, interesting, popular, likable, lively
- general – negative: plain, poor, restricted, cold, slang, laconic, ordinary, common, lazy
- status-related: universal, widespread, worldwide, widely used, recognized, practical, useful, handy, good for connections, power, powerful, professional, dominant, important, intelligence, educated, independence, adaptive, evolving, modern
- solidarity-related: defining, emotional, social
- uncertain: fast, basic, short, England, English accent, varied, song, United States, ideas, loud, patriot, computer, not rigid, not serious

Appendix H

Words used to describe French

L1 English (and other):

- general – positive: nice, pretty, amazing, beautiful, rich, smooth, soft, interesting, culture, cultural, poetic, lyrical, elegant, passionate, romantic, delicate, classy, creative, complex, expressive, less vulgar, easy, fun, proper, cool, enticing, liked, appealing, evocative
- general – negative: complicated, difficult, hard, weird, annoying, confusing, dumb, anti-anglais, exaggerated, sexist, frustrating, overbearing, stern, strict, cold, snobby, vulgar, farmer
- status-related: needed, necessary, helpful, important, educated, intelligent, smart, modern, famous, well-known
- solidarity-related: feelings, emotional, compassionate, moving, heritage, historic, old, traditional, Canadian, Quebec, Montreal
- uncertain: flows, love, oui, different, European, exceptions, fast, foreign, varied, accented, fancy, intense, France, vive la France, linguistic, serious, distinct

L1 French (and other):

- general – positive: nice, pretty, beautiful, soft, melodious, clear, rich, complex, romantic, sensual, cheerful, joyful, spontaneous, interesting, elegant, refined, distinguished, elaborate, nuanced, precise, magnificent, just, amusing, comprehensible, agreeable, enriching, expressive, harmonious, colourful, amazing, gracious, deep, culture, cultural, artistic, poetry, poetic, literature, literary, Molière
- general – negative: boring, complicated, difficult, frustrating, annoying, stressful, problematic, not evolving, whimsical, naïve, ‘Je suis Canadien pas Québécois’
- status-related: practical, useful, essential, indispensable, important, educated, employment, international
- solidarity-related: emotional, emotive, warm, from the heart, for friends, heritage, history, historical, Plains of Abraham, old, the past, identity, Quebec, home country, Canadian, moi, mother tongue
- uncertain: Guillaume Latendresse, love, Romanesque, capricious, diversified, Latin, long, varied, accent, direct, distance, big, travel, orthography, rules, blue, exclusive, France, mysterious, resonant, envied, fancy, original, everyday, theatrical

L1 English and French (and other):

- general – positive: nice, beautiful, sophisticated, elegant, rich, soft, sensual, complex, descriptive, suave, reliable, well-suited, cultural, poetic
- general – negative: complicated, difficult, hard, nerve-racking, cold, closed
- status-related: important, money, modern, smart, schooling
- solidarity-related: heritage, Quebec
- uncertain: exotic, long, technical, many words, varying, rare

L1 Other(s):

- general – positive: nice, beautiful, complex, sophisticated, elegant, graceful, classy, stylish, rich, romantic, smooth, fun, soft, interesting, enjoyable, expressive, gallant, reasonable, charming, open, understandable, unique, culture, cultured, poetic, artistic, eloquence, literary
- general – negative: complicated, hard, difficult, confusing, bad, not likable, slang, boring, strict, rigid, snobby, less important, minor
- status-related: evolving, school, knowledge, educated, intelligent, important, useful, useful in Quebec
- solidarity-related: emotional, kind, social, warm, friendly
- uncertain: cheese, long, love, serious, cream, fancy, fast, comprehension, formal, reciprocal, wine, aristocratic, full, travel, church, old

Appendix I

Words used to describe Quebec French

L1 English (and other):

- general – positive: beautiful, good, complex, romantic, distinguished, elegant, religious, interesting, popular, appropriate, expressive, easy, laid back, relaxed, fun, humorous, entertaining
- general – negative: different, anglicized, accented, joul, slang, aïe!, ayoye!, câlisse!, tabarnak!, dumb, ignorant, uneducated, farmer, hick, hillbilly, useless, pointless, abused, messy, difficult, complicated, confusing, hard, rude, annoying, anger, weird, ugly, dirty, rough, vulgar, trashy, stinky, odd, bad, horrible, not pretty, not elegant, disrespectful, sloppy, lazy, repetitive, fake, sexist, stuck-up, arrogant, incomprehensible, mockable, not liked, exaggerated, unreliable, disgusting, misused
- status-related: useful, required, needed, important, evolving, well-known
- solidarity-related: national, familiar, moving, traditional, heritage, old
- uncertain: diverse, fast, not reserved, on its own, religious, strict, dying, sullen, unique, manly, expression

L1 French (and other):

- general – positive: beautiful, rich, value, alive, authentic, agreeable, honest, sacred, endearing, interesting, pretty, inventive, inviting, sing-song, complex, relaxed, nuanced, strong, genuine, expressive, charming, joyful, magnificent, moving, musical, precise, sincere, special, spontaneous, elegant, to be preserved, polyvalent, real, representative, comprehensible, comical, fun, easy, cool, culture, poetic
- general – negative: joul, patois, slang, accented, anglicized, Fran/glais, uneducated, different, brutal, deformed, bastardised, ugly, crude, rude, uncultivated, not elegant, not pretty, hard on the ear, strange, unclear, vulgar, broken, complicated, poor, abbreviated, not always understandable, hated, reduced, rough, too familiar, woodcutter, settlers
- status-related: important, necessary, powerful
- solidarity-related: emotional, warm, familiarity, personal, belonging, propre à nous, identity, moi, history, historical, heritage, ancestors, the past, nationalist, honour, pride, patriotism, Quebec
- uncertain: original, +/- rich, direct, fancy, fast, winter, ouais, referendum, short, changing, divided, Eiffel Tower, habitual, naïve, spoken, robust, blue, bread, simplicity, varied, multiple, rare, television, city, incorporated, moi j'aime ça les filles, Caroline Neron

L1 English and French (and other):

- general – positive: beautiful, easy, simple, descriptive, elegant, culture, interesting, well-suited
- general – negative: jargon, slang, ugly, rough, deformed, not classy, uneducated, complicated, difficult, common, harsh, less cultural, not clear, not elegant, incomprehensible, ruins EF
- status-related: important, school
- solidarity-related: personal, history
- uncertain: expression, taken advantage of, unique, new, rules, faster than EF

L1 Other(s):

- general – positive: convenient, easy, simple, interesting, complex, distinguished, funny, rich, special, striking, understandable, versatile, clear, simple, social, beautiful, popular, elegant, expressive, cool, smooth, laidback
- general – negative: slang, anglicised, country-like, arrogant, bizarre, boorish, complicated, crude, different, disrespectful, hard, rude, lazy, rough, sloppy, ugly, vulgar, aggressive, deformed, debased, drawling, harsh, badly spoken, messy, noisy, incorrect, uneducated, uncultured, repulsive, so bad, unfair, confusing, improper, irritating, jumbled, monotonous, odd, poor, poorer than EF, unpleasant, unprofessional, unsophisticated, unserious, boring, cold, lacking, not classy, not understandable, not very useful, useless, sickening, anger, common, stressful, weird, swearing, insulting, tabarnak, ostie
- status-related: practical
- solidarity-related: personal, emotional
- uncertain: le, decontracted, naïve, dialect, fast, short, local, average, closed, masculine, mon homme, original, unique, lo lo, unvariable, raw

Appendix J

Evaluations of speaker 3

Table J.1: Evaluations of speaker 3 in terms of status traits. Mother tongue (L1), absolute numbers (N), means for guises (English, QF and EF), F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 0 = not at all, 16 = very.

trait	L1	N	Mean / English	Mean / QF	Mean / EF	F	df	sig.
intelligence	English	41	9.1	11.5	12.3	3.482	6,286	0.002
	French	54	10.9	11.0	12.9			
	English & French	13	10.2	10.5	11.5			
	Other	47	10.9	10.5	11.6			
	Total	155	10.3	10.9	12.2			
dependability	English	41	9.3	10.3	10.1	2.619	2,274	0.075
	French	50	10.7	10.7	11.9			
	English & French	12	8.4	9.6	12.3			
	Other	46	10.0	9.6	10.7			
	Total	149	9.9	10.1	11.0			
education	English	41	10.2	11.9	12.2	2.224	6,288	0.041
	French	54	11.0	10.8	14.0			
	English & French	13	10.0	10.2	12.4			
	Other	48	11.2	10.6	12.0			
	Total	156	10.8	11.0	12.6			
ambition	English	42	9.4	11.9	11.8	11.638	2,286	0.000
	French	52	9.9	11.1	12.3			
	English & French	13	8.4	10.9	11.0			
	Other	48	9.4	10.8	10.8			
	Total	155	9.5	11.2	11.6			
leadership	English	42	8.1	11.0	11.3	13.559	2,284	0.000
	French	52	8.9	10.5	10.3			
	English & French	13	8.4	9.3	9.8			
	Other	47	9.2	10.1	11.1			
	Total	154	8.7	10.4	10.8			

Table J.2: Evaluations of speaker 3 in terms of solidarity traits. Mother tongue (L1), absolute numbers (N), means for guises (English, QF and EF), F value (F), degrees of freedom (df) and level of significance (sig.). Means: 0 = not at all, 16 = very.

trait	L1	N	Mean / English	Mean / QF	Mean / EF	F	df	sig.
kindness	English	42	11.1	10.4	10.6	3.041	2,290	0.049
	French	54	10.9	12.2	10.6			
	English & French	13	10.7	9.1	8.6			
	Other	48	11.7	10.3	11.5			
	Total	157	11.2	10.9	10.7			
humour	English	41	7.3	9.7	9.5	3.719	2,288	0.025
	French	54	7.2	10.4	7.1			
	English & French	13	7.8	8.1	6.9			
	Other	48	8.6	9.8	9.9			
	Total	156	7.7	9.9	8.6			
warmth	English	42	10.5	9.7	10.3	0.140	2,290	0.869
	French	54	9.7	11.8	10.3			
	English & French	13	9.1	8.5	7.4			
	Other	48	11.4	10.5	11.3			
	Total	157	10.4	10.6	10.4			
likeability	English	42	10.8	10.3	11.0	1.365	2,284	0.010
	French	52	10.5	12.0	10.1			
	English & French	13	9.8	9.0	9.4			
	Other	47	11.8	10.1	11.5			
	Total	154	10.9	10.7	10.7			
sociability	English	42	10.1	11.3	11.7	1.488	2,288	0.010
	French	54	10.1	12.5	11.0			
	English & French	12	9.4	9.7	9.7			
	Other	48	11.0	11.2	12.0			
	Total	156	10.3	11.6	11.4			